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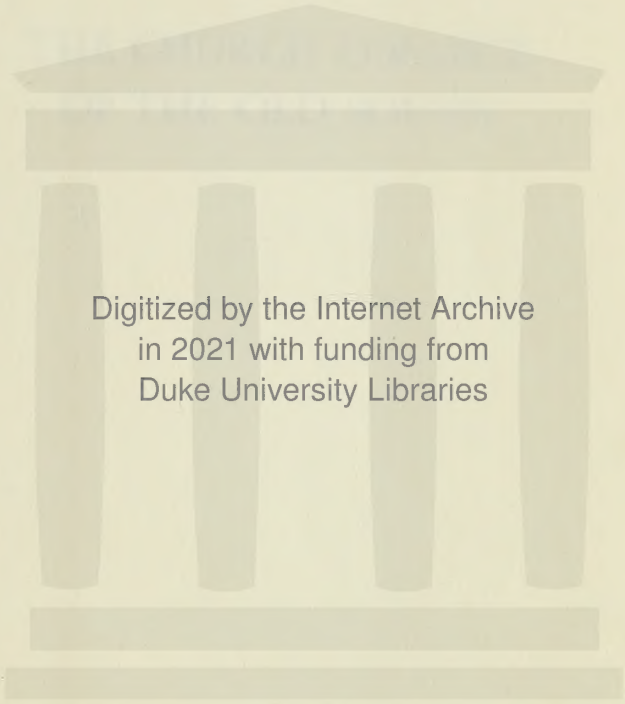

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THE CHURCH COLLEGE OF THE OLD SOUTH

THE CHURCH COLLEGE *of the* OLD SOUTH

By ALBEA GODBOLD

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To

LUCILE

My Wife

And

ADAH LUCILE
CHANNING
EDMUND
ELEANOR

My Children

AC1979

Preface

THE CHURCH COLLEGE is an important topic of discussion in ecclesiastical, if not in academic, circles today. Many are asking: Can the church college survive? Does it have a place in the American system of higher education? Can it, or dare it, be Christian? Perhaps a critical study of the origin and early history of the church colleges in a given area will be of interest and help to those who are genuinely concerned about the present status and the future of this type of American educational institution.

In the following pages, an attempt is made to portray the rise and character of the church colleges in the Old South, that is, in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. A brief history of the founding of each of the church colleges is presented, together with an analysis of the motives of the religious denominations in launching these institutions of higher learning. Then follows an appraisal of their intellectual, social, moral, and religious aspects. Chapter V discusses the relationship between these church institutions and the state universities of the Old South.

My interest in this historical study was first aroused in a seminar in Southern History, under the direction of the late William K. Boyd, head of the Department of History in Duke University. The research begun in the seminar grew into a doctoral dissertation, which was presented to Duke University in 1939. The present book is the substance of the Ph.D. thesis.

I am under obligation to Professors Alban G. Widgery, Charles S. Sydnor, and Dean Paul N. Garber, all of Duke University, for helpful criticism of my earlier man-

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uscript. I am indebted to Dr. H. Shelton Smith, Professor of Christian Ethics and Director of Graduate Studies in Religion at Duke University, for wise counsel, constructive criticism, and unfailing encouragement. Professor Smith's stimulating mind and democratic attitude have made a welcome contribution to my intellectual and spiritual growth.

Special thanks are due librarians and others in the church colleges and state universities considered in this study. In the course of the investigation I visited nearly all of the institutions discussed herein and received courteous consideration. Rare manuscripts, journals, periodicals, books, and other documents were kindly placed at my disposal. Without these courtesies it would have been impossible to gather much of the material used in this book. Also, I wish to make acknowledgment of the assistance given me by my wife in the preparation of this manuscript, an acknowledgment that falls far short of my larger indebtedness to her.

A. G.

St. John's Methodist Church,
St. Louis, Missouri,
February 24, 1944

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THE CHURCH COLLEGE OF THE OLD SOUTH

CHAPTER I

The Rise of the Church College

THE FOUR MAJOR religious denominations in the Old South, in the order of their appearance, were the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Methodists. At the outset it is perhaps appropriate to sketch briefly the pertinent facts affecting the rise of these churches, to reveal their attitudes toward education, and to review the efforts which these denominations put forth to found colleges in the Old South prior to 1860.

THE ANGLICAN (PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL) CHURCH

The Anglican Church, established in Virginia at the founding of Jamestown in 1607, was probably always outnumbered by dissenters in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and at times it was obstructed by them in the colonial assemblies. Even so, Anglicanism finally achieved legal establishment in all of the Southern colonies—1706 in South Carolina, 1758 in Georgia, and 1765 in North Carolina.[1]

The Established Church interested itself in education in the Southern colonies from the beginning, although it achieved no great record in this field. In co-operation with the Crown, the church projected its first significant educational venture in Virginia in 1620.[2] It planned to estab-

[1] Cf. E. L. Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1927), pp. 14, 75, 85; W. W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York, 1935), pp. 16, 88-89; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 45 ff.

[2] Edward D. Neill, *History of the Virginia Company of London* (Albany, N. Y., 1869), p. 137.

lish a school to serve planters' children, to educate the Indians, and to form the nucleus of a university. The terrible Indian massacre of 1622 destroyed all hope of launching such an institution for some time to come.[3] In 1661 Indian troubles and Bacon's Rebellion blocked another effort on behalf of a college.[4]

William and Mary College

Finally, eighty-six years after the settlement of Jamestown, the church succeeded in establishing a college in Virginia. This achievement was the result of the efforts of James Blair, a Scotchman, who was educated at the University of Edinburgh and who became Commissary of the Bishop of London in Virginia in 1690. In that year he convened the clergy of the province and proposed that for the "better encouragement of learning" there be founded a college "to consist of three schools, viz., Grammar, Philosophy, and Divinity."[5] He raised £2,500 from wealthy Virginians and English merchants, and then was sent by the Virginia Assembly to England to solicit additional funds and to seek a charter from the Crown. The king and queen responded generously by giving £2,000 from their Virginia revenues. But in other quarters he met opposition, because he requested some revenues which were being diverted to private uses. The Attorney General argued that the college was a useless expenditure. Blair parried with the observation that the Virginians had souls to be saved. The Attorney General cried, "Damn your souls; raise tobacco!"[6] But notwithstanding the opposition, a royal charter for William and Mary College was

[3] L. W. Burton, *Annals of Henrico Parish* (Richmond, Va., 1904), pp. 8-9.

[4] Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[5] Sadie Bell, *The Church, the State, and Education in Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 115.

[6] Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84; Manross, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

issued February 19, 1693, establishing the institution "to the end that the church in Virginia may be furnished with a Seminary for Ministers of the Gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good Letters and Manners, and that the Christian Faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians to the Glory of Almighty God."[7]

Church and state acted as one in the founding of this college. Thirty-six years later, in 1729, the institution was handed over to a corporation of the "President and the Masters, or Professors," and a board of "Visitors and Governors."[8] Both groups were self-perpetuating bodies, with no obligation to provide for state representation. Accordingly, primary responsibility for the control and support of the college rested finally upon the church.[9] James Blair, the first president, served more than fifty years. For 135 of the first 160 years of the life of the institution all its presidents were chosen from the clergy, including the first and fourth bishops of Virginia.[10] It was never a typical church college, but rather a transitional type of institution between Thomas Jefferson's ideal of a purely civil university and the denominational institutions which arose in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[11] During the Revolution the chair of divinity was removed from the college. In 1821 the church made an unsuccessful attempt to restore the theological chair.[12]

The state was no more successful than the church in its efforts to gain full control over the college. As one of the Visitors, Thomas Jefferson helped to eliminate the chair of divinity from the institution, but he failed in

[7] Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[8] D. G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War* (New York, 1932), p. 138.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[11] Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188.

[12] Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 185, 288-294; Manross, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

1779, when he introduced a bill in the legislature to make William and Mary College a state university.[13]

The Anglican Church (Protestant Episcopal after disestablishment in 1784) operated a few academies in each of the states of the Old South, but it was not able to establish an institution of higher education, aside from William and Mary College, in the South before 1860.[14] During the Colonial period the failure was in part due to the strength and opposition of dissenters. The Schism Act of 1714 required that all schoolteachers be members of the Church of England. Dissenters were therefore loath to assist in the passage of bills for schools, for every such enactment strengthened the Established Church.[15]

The Anglican Church, in turn, discouraged or actually prevented dissenters from founding educational institutions during the Colonial period. The Presbyterians were unable to get a charter from the Crown for a school in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1770, and at about the same time an effort was made to block the chartering of the academy that became Hampden-Sidney College in Virginia.[16]

For many years following disestablishment of the Anglican Church in 1784, the Protestant Episcopal Church was not strong enough numerically or financially to found and support colleges in the Old South.

After failing to secure the re-establishment of a theo-

[13] Andrew A. Lipscomb, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, D. C., 1903-1904), I, 71; X, 147.

[14] E. W. Knight, *The Academy Movement in the South* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1928); E. D. Owen, "Secondary Schools in North Carolina" (1932), pp. 40-42; W. E. Drake, "Higher Education in North Carolina Before 1860" (1930), pp. 22–23; H. E. Stephens, "The Academy Movement in South Carolina to 1900" (1932), p. 13; Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 214; and the Journals of the Annual Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the various states before 1860.

[15] Drake, *op. cit.*, Introduction, *passim*, pp. 17, 22, 28.

[16] Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63; Owen, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-75; *Calendar of Board Minutes, Hampden-Sidney College*, 1776-1876, pp. 14-16.

logical chair in William and Mary College in 1821, the Episcopalians looked toward the founding of a theological seminary in Virginia. In the autumn of 1823 the Reverend Reuel Keith began teaching thirteen ministerial candidates at Alexandria. That was the beginning of the Episcopal Theological Seminary, although opposition in the legislature prevented the school from receiving a charter for many years.[17]

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Presbyterianism did not come in strength to the Southern colonies until the great Scotch-Irish immigration in the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century. A few settlers stayed near the coast, but most of them were compelled to go further inland to find unoccupied land. Many who settled in the South entered America by way of the Middle Atlantic States and spread down the mountain trough as far as South Carolina to establish themselves on the frontier, back from the more settled tidewater sections. Between 1730 and 1770 more than half the Presbyterian population of Ulster came to America, and this group with its descendants formed one sixth of the population of the country at the time of the Revolution.[18]

From the beginning the Presbyterians were genuinely interested in education. The Synod of New York and Philadelphia, to which the Hanover Presbytery (organized in 1758 to include the whole Southern country) was first attached, enjoined congregations "to pay special regard to the good education of children, as being intimately connected with the interests of morality and religion."[19]

[17] Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 293; Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Manross, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-241.

[18] H. J. Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Princeton, N. J., 1915), p. 523; F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), chap. iii; W. M. Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia* (Durham, N. C., 1930), pp. 25-27.

[19] Gewehr, *op. cit.*, p. 221; Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

Every congregation was "required to endeavor to establish one or more schools . . . convenient for the people . . . [the] care of schools [to be] a part of their congregational business."[20] Indeed, among the Presbyterians the church and the school often went hand in hand. Wherever a church was established, in most cases a school was also started, and, as a rule, the minister was the schoolteacher.[21]

This aggressive interest in schools, coupled with the fact that their numerical strength was relatively great, made the Presbyterians the dominant church in the field of education in the South prior to 1860. Before the Civil War they established five colleges, all of which survive to this day, to say nothing of numerous academies.

Hampden-Sidney College

Hampden-Sidney College was named for John Hampden (1594-1643) and Algernon Sidney (1622-1683). Moves for establishing this school began in 1771, when the Hanover Presbytery "being very sensible of the great expediency of creating a seminary of learning somewhere within the bounds of this presbytery" recommended that members consider the matter and report at the next meeting.[22] The records indicate that the matter was considered in meetings of the presbytery for several years. Eventually the congregations raised £1,300, and the institution —called Prince Edward Academy at first—was advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* in October and December, 1775.

An Anglican who signed himself "Luther" attacked the proposed academy on the ground that dissenters ought not to be allowed to teach in public schools, and he urged Anglicans to withhold their subscriptions until the school

[20] Gewehr, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

[21] D. I. Craig, *A History of the Development of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina* (Richmond, Va., 1907), p. 18; Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[22] Manuscript Records of the Hanover Presbytery, Oct. 9, 1771, p. 37.

should be placed in charge of Anglican masters.[23] Despite opposition one hundred acres of land were donated for the academy in Prince Edward County, and the institution was opened in January, 1776. Soon the school had one hundred students, more than it could house, and cabins were built to provide additional accommodations. The next year a lottery was held to raise £1,260 for new buildings.[24]

The academy was closed for a period during the Revolution, but resumed operation after the war. In 1783 it was raised to college rank. Prior to 1860 the number of students, including the preparatory department, ranged from 75 to 125 a year. The average number of graduates a year was eight.[25]

Washington College (Washington and Lee University)

What is now Washington and Lee University began as a grammar school in 1749 in Augusta County, Virginia, and at first was called Augusta Academy.[26] In the early days the school was moved each time the Presbyterian preacher who taught it changed his residence and place of ministerial labor. The name of the school was changed in 1776 to Liberty Hall, in keeping with the patriotic spirit of the time. The institution, however, suffered during the Revolution, and in 1780 it was moved to the vicinity of Lexington, Virginia.

In 1782 the presbytery concluded that the trustees were neglecting the academy and appointed additional members on the board. The trustees then sought and obtained a college charter, although the school did not use

[23] *Calendar of Board Minutes, Hampden-Sidney College*, 1776-1876, pp. 14-16.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 23; Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[25] See catalogues of Hampden-Sidney College, 1823-1857, particularly 1857, pp. 4-11.

[26] *Catalogue of Washington and Lee University*, 1873-1874.

the word "college" in its title until an act of the Virginia legislature in 1813 made it Washington College.[27]

Washington College was listed as under Presbyterian control until 1861,[28] although beginning in 1782 there was a tendency to make it the independent institution which it finally became. The charter granted in 1782 made the school independent of state, political, and sectarian control, and guaranteed to officers and students uninterrupted freedom in religious opinion.[29]

It is proper to note the relation of George Washington to the college which assumed his name fourteen years after his death. In 1784 Virginia voted Washington fifty shares of the Potomac River Company and one hundred shares of the James River Company in acknowledgment of his services to the state during the Revolution. At his request he was later given the right to confer the shares upon some object of a public nature. In 1796 Washington indicated his desire to donate the shares to Liberty Hall Academy. The legislature, without the knowledge or consent of the Liberty Hall trustees, then voted to give the institution Washington's name, to abolish the existing board of trustees, and to set up a board of visitors, none of whom were ministers, and few if any of whom were even members of the Presbyterian Church.[30] The legislature decided that in view of Washington's gift the institution should be removed from Presbyterian control and made independent.

The legislature had underestimated the strength of the Presbyterians in Virginia. As a board of trustees and as individuals, but not officially as a denomination, the Pres-

[27] Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 228, 308.

[28] See *Blue Book and a Friendly Guide* (Louisville, Ky., 1937), pp. 128-132.

[29] *Catalogue of Washington and Lee University*, 1873-1874.

[30] Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 231; *Catalogue of Washington and Lee University*, 1926.

byterians successfully resisted the move of the Virginia Assembly, declaring that the act was "an unjustifiable infringement of the rights of the corporation of Liberty Hall."[31] Finally, the act converting Liberty Hall into a public institution was withdrawn, and the school kept its former name. Moreover, the school kept Washington's gift, and in 1798 sent him a letter of thanks for his generosity.[32]

In 1854 the trustees of the college did what the legislature tried to do in 1796—voted to make the institution nonsectarian and thereby removed it from the suspicion of being under the exclusive control of the Presbyterian Church.[33] Presumably this step was taken because they hoped to get aid for the college from state funds.

Davidson College

As early as 1770 the Presbyterians obtained from the North Carolina Colonial Assembly an act establishing a school to be called Queen's College in Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. Notwithstanding Governor William Tryon's support, the Crown vetoed the bill. To permit such a school would have aided the growth of dissent with royal approval.[34] Nevertheless, a school was started, but it soon failed. Meantime, the Presbyterians in western North Carolina never gave up hope of establishing a college.

A second unsuccessful effort to found a college in western North Carolina was made in the 1820's. As in Colonial times the aim was to have the school supported

[31] Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

[32] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Washington College, March 9, 1798, p. 77; April 12, 1798, p. 79. It is interesting to note that as late as 1926 Washington's gift was yielding $3,000 a year for Washington and Lee University (Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 234).

[33] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Washington College, March 2, 1854, p. 347; July 3, 1854, p. 350.

[34] Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

by the Crown, so in 1820 the plan was to solicit help from the state.[35] The state neatly sidestepped the issue; it chartered the school, but provided no funds. The trustees then raised $56,000 in pledges, but the project still did not materialize, because they could not agree on a location and because they met opposition from friends of the University of North Carolina.[36]

Finally, the Presbyterians ceased looking to the state for assistance and established Davidson College with their own resources. The initial move to this end came in 1835, when, as the minutes of the Concord Presbytery show, it was "unanimously resolved that this presbytery, deeply impressed with the importance of securing the means of education to young men, within our bounds, of hopeful piety and talents, preparatory to the Gospel ministry, undertake (in humble reliance on the blessing of God) the establishment of a manual labor school. . . ."[37] The institution was named for General William Lee Davidson, who had achieved distinction in the Revolution. The land for the college was purchased from Davidson's son.

Davidson College opened in Mecklenburg County on March 1, 1837, and was chartered December 28, 1838. The charter limited the life of the school to fifty years, its tax exemption to five hundred acres of land, and its total property to $200,000.[38] This property limitation, unfortunately, caused the college to lose $50,000 of a $250,000 legacy which came to it in 1854 from Maxwell

[35] See "Vox Populi," in *Western Carolinian*, Aug. 22, 1820.

[36] *Western Carolinian*, March 11, 1823, March 25, 1823.

[37] MS Minutes of the Concord Presbytery, March 12, 1835, pp. 112-114. The manual labor plan in connection with higher education came from Europe, and was adopted in America primarily because it was thought that it would lower the cost of education and promote health and democracy among the students. More will be said later about this plan.

[38] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1838, pp. 102-106.

Chambers, a wealthy businessman of Salisbury, North Carolina.[39]

The Concord Presbytery soon sought and obtained the assistance of several presbyteries in North Carolina and South Carolina in the control and maintenance of Davidson College. In the early years the Synod of North Carolina did not look with favor on the institution. In 1847 the latter body considered founding a "synodical college,"[40] but after warm debate finally passed a resolution that Davidson College "be an integral part of our system . . . under care of the synod."[41] The favorable action of 1847, however, seems not to have silenced the opposition to Davidson College in the synod, for in 1851 that body tabled the report of Davidson College and passed resolutions to the effect that while the school was a Presbyterian institution it should not be considered as under the care of the synod.[42] Three years later, in 1854, the synod was again talking about founding "a Presbyterian College in North Carolina of the highest order" to "stand forth to future generations . . . as an exponent of Presbyterian doctrine, order, and literature of the state,"[43] but nothing came of it.

Davidson College's enrollment prior to the Civil War was small, 112 in 1859-1860 being the largest for any one year. Between 1847 and 1858 the number of students ranged from 61 to 105 a year.[44]

Oglethorpe College

Georgia Presbyterians started two academies—Gwinett near Athens, and Midway at Milledgeville. These schools

[39] C. R. Shaw, *Davidson College* (New York, 1923), p. 87.
[40] *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina*, 1847, p. 8.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[42] *Ibid.*, 1851, p. 24.
[43] *Ibid.*, 1854, p. 28.
[44] Catalogues of Davidson College, 1847-1858; Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 93; *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina.*

seem to have been somewhat under the direction of the Georgia Educational Society, a supposedly interdenominational organization established under the leadership of the Presbyterians in 1824. The society ceased to exist in 1835,[45] whereupon the trustees of Midway Seminary tendered their school to the Hopewell Presbytery, because they believed "that ecclesiastical supervision would give weight and permanency to the object, and secure that moral and religious influence over it which, with a strict and reasonable discipline, would render it more worthy of support and confidence."[46] The presbytery accepted the school, took steps to raise it to college grade, and gave it the name of Oglethorpe. A charter was granted December 21, 1835, and the college opened in January, 1838, on the manual labor plan.[47]

At the beginning the South Carolina and Georgia Synod, to which the Hopewell Presbytery belonged, commended the presbytery on its projection of the college. Four years later, in 1839, when financial difficulties arose, the synod assumed responsibility for the school. Within a year the synod took steps to enlist the co-operation of the Alabama and Mississippi synods, the Florida Presbytery, and, indeed, the whole of Southern Presbyterianism.[48] With the aid of the surrounding synods, including some contributions from the North, Oglethorpe College survived, although for the first ten to fifteen years of its life, like many other church colleges, it was heavily burdened with debt.[49]

[45] James Stacy, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Georgia* (Atlanta, Ga., 1912), p. 108; C. E. Jones, *Education in Georgia* (Washington, D. C., 1889), p. 79.

[46] *Oglethorpe University Magazine*, I (April, 1855), 115; C. E. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[47] C. E. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-83; Stacy, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[48] MS Minutes of the South Carolina and Georgia Synod, Nov. 14, 1835, p. 433; 1839, p. 74; 1841, p. 16.

[49] Stacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114.

Between 1839 and 1855 Oglethorpe College graduated 152 students.[50] The institution ceased operation for many years after 1873.

Erskine College

Erskine College was established by the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. After desultory efforts on behalf of ministerial education for some fourteen years, the synod, in 1834, initiated moves which resulted, in 1836, in the opening of Clark and Erskine Seminary at Due West, South Carolina. The school would prepare young men to enter the junior class of any respectable college.[51] The institution prospered, and in 1839 plans were made to raise it to college grade. The name was changed to Erskine College, and the legislature was petitioned for a charter, but that body, afraid that the rise of other colleges would jeopardize the life of the state university at Columbia, did not comply with the request until 1850. Even so, the school functioned as a college after 1839, and maintained a theological department.[52]

Presbyterian Theological Seminaries

In 1812 the Synod of Virginia elected Moses Hoge, President of Hampden-Sidney College, professor of divinity in the college. Hoge prepared some thirty men for the ministry before his death in 1820. The synod then turned the theological work over to the Hanover Presbytery, which in 1824 established "The Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in care of the Presbytery of Hanover." In 1826 the presbytery tendered the school

[50] *Catalogue of Oglethorpe College*, 1855.

[51] Colyer Meriwether, *Higher Education in South Carolina* (Washington, D. C., 1889), p. 88.

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 91-92; R. C. Brownlee, Business Manager of Erskine College, in a letter to the present writer, Feb. 24, 1938.

to the General Assembly, and the following year the Assembly intrusted the institution to the care of the synods of North Carolina and Virginia. Hence the name "The Union Theological Seminary," which the school bears to this day. It is now located in Richmond, Virginia.[53]

In 1824 the Presbytery of South Carolina moved to start a theological seminary. Instruction began at Lexington, Georgia, in 1829. A year later the school opened at Columbia, South Carolina, and was given the name "Columbia Theological Seminary."[54] This seminary is now located just outside Atlanta, Georgia.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH

A few Baptists appeared in the Carolinas prior to 1700, but the denomination did not show marked strength in the South until the rise of what was called the Separate Baptist Church under the leadership of Shubal Stearns. He was a New England Baptist, who, with a few followers, settled on Sandy Creek, Guilford County, North Carolina, in 1755.[55] Separate Baptists differed from Regular Baptists, for they recognized no creed except the Bible, had no written confession of faith, and magnified the guidance and work of the Holy Spirit.[56] Stearns's church grew rapidly and soon spread the Baptist revival into Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia.[57]

The Baptists had a pronounced prejudice against edu-

[53] Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226; *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 1827, pp. 212-213.

[54] W. C. Robinson, *Columbia Theological Seminary and the Southern Presbyterian Church* (Decatur, Ga., 1931), pp. 11-15.

[55] Isaac Backus, *History of the Baptists* (2d ed., Newton, Mass., 1871), II, 530; W. H. Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, First Series* (Philadelphia, 1850), p. 314.

[56] G. W. Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College* (Wake Forest, N. C., 1935), pp. 17, 19; David Benedict, *History of the Baptists* (New York, 1850), p. 641.

[57] Backus, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

cation, especially education for the ministry. In 1784 the Kehukee Baptist Association in North Carolina resolved:

> Education is not essential to the qualifications of a gospel minister. It is a good thing in its place, and forms no objection to the character and qualifications of a minister. God calls a man to the knowledge of Christ in the pardon of sin, without human learning or with it, as seemeth good in His sight, and in like manner He calls a Christian to the gospel ministry. God is not dependent on human education in either case. If He has use for a learned man He calls him. He never calls a man and sends him to man to be qualified.[58]

Many Baptists opposed the formation of Baptist state conventions because such organizations aimed among other things to promote ministerial education.[59] Wake Forest and Mercer colleges experienced much difficulty in the early years because of opposition to education among the Baptists.[60] The following observation appears to be an accurate appraisal of Baptist prejudice against education before 1860: "Throughout the greater part of the history of the Baptist Church in this country before the Civil War, there existed among the larger portion of its membership a deep-seated and active prejudice against the education of ministers."[61]

Of course, not all Baptists in the South were prejudiced against education. Oliver Hart and Richard Furman, pastors of the Baptist Church in Charleston, South Carolina, before the Revolution, led their people in forming education societies and raising money to train

[58] C. B. Williams, *History of the Baptists in North Carolina* (Raleigh, N. C., 1901), p. 30.

[59] *Minutes of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina*, 1830, p. 14; 1831, p. 11; 1832, p. 7; Julia L. Sherwood, *Memoir of Adiel Sherwood* (St. Louis, Mo., 1884), p. 234.

[60] Paschal, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-176; B. D. Ragsdale, *Story of the Georgia Baptists* (Macon, Ga., n.d.), pp. 68-69.

[61] Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

candidates for the ministry.[62] Silas Mercer, a Baptist minister and the father of the celebrated Jesse Mercer for whom Mercer University was named, maintained a school near Washington, Georgia, before 1800.[63] Also, there was an unsuccessful move to found a Baptist school in Virginia in 1788.[64]

But the interest of isolated individuals and small groups was not enough to overcome prejudice and commit the Baptists as a denomination to the support of education. The rising interest of the Baptists in foreign missions during the first quarter of the nineteenth century turned the tide. Enthusiasm for missions revealed the need of an educated ministry and resulted in that larger organization and co-operation necessary for the founding and support of colleges and seminaries.[65]

Luther Rice, a Congregationalist, a graduate of Williams College in 1807, and a member of the famous "haystack prayer meeting" of that institution, went as a missionary to India under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. En route to India, Rice was converted to Baptist views and returned to America in 1813. Rice, traveling north and south, aroused much interest in foreign missions among the Baptists. In 1813 he attended the meeting of the Charleston

[62] W. J. McGlothlin, *Baptist Beginnings in Education* (Nashville, Tenn., 1926), pp. 26, 27, 32, 34; M. L. Jones, "Baptist Beginnings in Higher Education in the Carolinas" (1937), p. 36; F. G. Lewis, *A Sketch of the History of Baptist Education in Pennsylvania* (Chester, Pa., 1919), pp. 6-15.

[63] Ragsdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3, 49-50; Christian Index Publishing Company, *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia* (1881), pp. 22, 60.

[64] Robert Semple, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia* (Richmond, Va., 1810), pp. 104, 113; Robert Ryland, *The Society, the Seminary, and the College* (pamphlet, Richmond, Va., 1891), p. 9.

[65] *Christian Review*, II (March, 1837), 116; *Christian Index*, July 6, 1837, pp. 426-427; McGlothlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43; Ragsdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-7, 19-20; Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Baptist Association in South Carolina and enlisted its cooperation. The association then charged its "General Committee," which had been handling the work of education since 1791, with the additional responsibility of promoting the cause of missions in South Carolina.[66]

Close relations between missions and education were further advanced by the organization of the "General Convention of the Baptists of the United States for Foreign Missions," more generally known as the "Triennial Convention," in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1814. Richard Furman of South Carolina, long an advocate of education among the Baptists, was elected president of the First Triennial Convention. In his inaugural address Furman stressed ministerial education. While the purpose of the Triennial Convention was to promote missions, the leaders "could not fail" to see "the necessity of well educated missionaries . . . and the need of a large increase of enlightened ministers at home."[67] In a constitution which was drawn up the Triennial Convention was authorized to employ missionaries "and if necessary, to take measures for the improvement of their qualifications."[68] Thus the rising interest of the Baptists in foreign missions led the denomination officially to commit itself to the support of education. Though prejudice against this cause prevailed among the Baptists for many years afterward, the denomination achieved marked success in education, establishing in the South some academies which served the needs of their day, and five colleges which survive to the present time.

Columbian College (George Washington University)

Strictly speaking, Columbian College in the District of Columbia was outside the Old South, but since it was the

[66] McGlothlin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[67] *Christian Review*, II (March, 1837), 116. [68] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

parent Baptist college[69] and as such had so much influence on Baptist educational efforts in the South, it seems proper to give here the facts concerning its establishment.

The college was the direct result of the educational aims of the Second Triennial Convention (1817) and the assiduous and enthusiastic personal efforts of Luther Rice. The convention voted to start a theological school as soon as funds were available.[70] The next year a small school was opened in Philadelphia, but Rice and others elastically interpreted the aims of the convention and developed a more ambitious educational plan for the Baptist denomination in America. They would capitalize on George Washington's desire for a national university in the capital city and build an institution there which would be supported by the Baptists of the entire country.[71] Rice and his associates therefore formed a "Literary Association," collected money, purchased land, and began erecting buildings for a school in Washington before the Triennial Convention met again in 1820. The convention was displeased, but accepted Rice's venture as a *fait accompli*.[72]

Rice expected to begin with a theological school in Washington and to add a college later, but Congress was unwilling to grant a charter for such a school. Of necessity he then asked for a college charter, and the bill establishing "The Columbian College in the District of Columbia" was passed on February 9, 1821.[73]

[69] Brown University, which began as an academy in 1764, is of course older than George Washington University, but the Rhode Island institution was largely the result of local forces, supported by Baptists in the Philadelphia Baptist Association. The Baptists in Rhode Island had the position of an established sect and were almost wholly set off from other Baptist communities in the land (Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-15).

[70] *Christian Review*, II (March, 1837), 118.

[71] *Catalogue of George Washington University*, 1935-1936, p. 41; Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 18; *Christian Review*, II (March, 1837), 119.

[72] *Christian Review*, II (March, 1837), 118.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

The entire Baptist denomination was stirred by appeals for Columbian College. The South Carolina Baptist Convention declared, "The general interests of the whole denomination, in the United States, are designed to be concentrated in the institution at Washington."[74] Local societies were organized throughout the country on behalf of the college, and large sums of money were raised. The Georgia Baptists alone gave $20,000 over a number of years to Columbian College.[75] About $6,000 for the school was collected in England.[76]

Notwithstanding widespread interest among the Baptists, and numerous gifts, Columbian College was soon heavily in debt. Debt brought ill feeling and criticism. In 1826 the Triennial Convention, concluding that missions in Burma and the education of ministers at home would not mix, struck everything pertaining to education from its constitution, and requested the trustees of Columbian College to invest the power of nomination in some other body. Withdrawal of convention support made bad matters worse for the college; yet somehow it survived. As astonishing as it may seem now, in 1835 Luther Rice persuaded the United States Congress to make the college a gift of real estate valued at $25,000.[77]

Columbian College passed from Baptist control in 1904 and became George Washington University.

Richmond College

In 1830 the Baptists organized a Virginia Baptist Education Society for the purpose of promoting ministerial education. At first the society was definitely against projecting a school, and proposed to aid ministerial stu-

[74] MS Minutes of the South Carolina Baptist Convention, 1821, unpaginated.

[75] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Association* (Convention), 1826, p. 8.

[76] *Christian Review*, II (March, 1837), 123-124.

[77] *Baptist Magazine*, XV (June, 1835), 264.

dents in schools already existing or to place them under older ministers. But the society soon decided that a Baptist school in Virginia would arouse more interest and achieve better results. Accordingly, they opened the Virginia Baptist Seminary on the manual labor plan near Richmond in 1832.[78]

At the time no charter was sought, nor did they intend to lift the institution to college grade, because Columbian College had many friends among Virginia Baptists who believed that a Baptist college in Virginia would hurt the institution in Washington. But by 1838 Luther Rice, who had kept many Southern Baptists loyal to Columbian College, was dead, and sentiment in favor of making a college of the Virginia school became assertive, resulting in a charter for Richmond College on March 4, 1840.[79]

The state of Virginia was averse to granting charters for theological schools or for colleges with theological departments. Therefore, at the suggestion of a Baptist member of the legislature, a proviso that no theological professorship should be established in the college was inserted in the charter, and the act passed without difficulty.[80] By 1858 the state had become more lenient in such matters, and amended the charter so as to eliminate the prohibition of a theological department in the college. To this day, however, the institution does not teach theology.[81]

Like most of the church colleges of the time, this institution passed through trying financial difficulties and survived. In 1845 the trustees, in the hope of raising

[78] *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia*, 1836, pp. 11, 14; Ryland, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[79] *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia*, 1838, pp. 16-17; 1839, p. 20; MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Richmond College, 1841-1870, p. 4.

[80] *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia*, 1839, p. 21; Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

[81] Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

money, appointed Samuel Wait, the retiring president of Wake Forest College, as financial agent at a salary of $750 a year; but he declined the job.[82]

Mercer University

From the days of Silas Mercer's school near Washington, Georgia, in the 1790's, a few Georgia Baptists were interested in education. Led by Jesse Mercer, they sought a charter for "The Baptist College of Georgia" in 1804, but the state declined to legalize a college with such a name.[83] The effort resulted in an academy which survived only a few years.

Prospects became brighter in 1829, when Josiah Penfield, a wealthy Baptist merchant, left $2,500 to the Georgia Baptist Convention for educational purposes, on condition that the convention raise a like amount. The additional sum was collected, and in January, 1833, Mercer Institute was opened on the manual labor plan about eight miles north of Greensborough, Georgia. For the first six years the institution was of academy grade.

While the Institute had a board of trustees, the convention intrusted "the ultimate and conclusive direction of all the interests and operations of the institution" to the Executive Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention, of which Jesse Mercer was chairman.[84] This committee gave diligent attention to the affairs of the school.[85]

As in the case of the relation of the Synod of North Carolina to Davidson College, for a few years it appeared that the Georgia Baptist Convention might fail to give

[82] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Richmond College, 1845, pp. 46, 48.

[83] *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia*, p. 56; E. M. Coulter, *College Life in the Old South* (New York, 1928), p. 24.

[84] Ragsdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, 59.

[85] MS Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention, 1828-1845.

undivided loyalty and support to Mercer Institute. For three years, 1835-1838, Georgia Baptists were excited over the prospect of the establishment of a Southern Baptist college in the state. They went so far as to secure a charter for such an institution, but in the end the plan was abandoned, largely because there could be no amicable agreement on a location.[86]

After the failure of the pretentious scheme for a Southern Baptist college, the Executive Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention shrewdly suggested that the denomination in the state center its efforts on Mercer Institute and advance it to college grade. The Committee declared that some $60,000 of the pledges made for the proposed Southern Baptist college could be secured if Mercer Institute became a college. The plan prevailed, and the charter for Mercer University was granted on December 22, 1837.[87] The college continued on the manual labor plan until 1845, and thus won the distinction of adhering longer to manual labor in connection with higher education than any other college in the Old South.

When Mercer Institute was raised to college rank, a theological department was established. Adiel Sherwood, long a leader in educational movements among Georgia Baptists, and then a teacher in Columbian College, returned to take the theological chair. For many years it was the fond hope of Georgia Baptists that Mercer, because of its theological department, might be selected by the denomination as the Southern Baptist Seminary, but in this desire they were disappointed.

From 1822 to 1844 there was much discussion of cooperation in education between the Baptists in Georgia and South Carolina. Fraternal delegates to state conven-

[86] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1836, p. 6; 1837, p. 14; 1838, pp. 5, 14-15.

[87] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1838, p. 27.

tions were exchanged, and on the surface relations were cordial, but nothing tangible ever came of the proposals. Perhaps each group wished to have the co-operative school within the borders of its own state.[88]

In 1857 a strong but unsuccessful effort in the Georgia Baptist Convention was made to move Mercer University to a more desirable location. The agitation continued, and in spite of vigorous objections the college went to Macon in 1871.[89] The highest enrollment of the college prior to the Civil War was 154 in 1854.[90]

Marshall College and Cherokee Baptist College

Marshall College was begun at Griffin, Georgia, in 1853 by the Flint River Baptist Association. Five years later the institution was reported to be entirely in the hands of the denomination, that is, under the control of the Georgia Baptist State Convention. Adiel Sherwood, who had left the state again, returned from Missouri to be president of the school. The college building was valued at $6,000. The institution enrolled about eighty pupils, only thirty of whom took the college course. The school did not survive the crisis of the Civil War.[91]

Cherokee Baptist College was an ambitious undertaking founded in 1854 at Cassville, Georgia, by the Middle Cherokee Baptist Association, which had been organized especially to foster this school and other Baptist interests west and north of the Chattahoochee River. Three years after its establishment the school was said to have real estate valued at $25,000. Like Marshall College, it was

[88] See the Minutes of the Baptist State Conventions in Georgia and South Carolina for the years indicated.

[89] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1857, p. 7; Ragsdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 110, 114.

[90] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1854, p. 23.

[91] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1857, p. 8; 1858, p. 8; Ragsdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

reported to be entirely in the hands of the denomination in 1858. Cherokee College had seventy-three pupils, of whom only thirty-two were enrolled in the college course. The institution was destroyed when General W. T. Sherman's army marched through Georgia, and was not rebuilt after the war.[92]

Wake Forest College

North Carolina Baptists gave little attention to education prior to the organization of the Baptist State Convention in 1830. Since one of the aims of that body was the education of ministers, it soon became active in the cause. The convention of 1832, held at Rives Chapel, Chatham County, resolved to establish a school on the manual labor plan.[93] A farm of six hundred acres was soon purchased in Wake County at a cost of $2,000, and application for a charter was made to the legislature.

Apparently the Baptists were the first in North Carolina to seek a charter for a first-rate educational institution to be owned, controlled, and directed by a religious denomination. Strong opposition to the charter appeared both inside and outside the legislature. Many objected to the proposed school because they thought it would hurt the state university at Chapel Hill. Others believed that if it were not contrary to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights it was at least inconsistent with the freedom and genius of American institutions. Some Baptists who opposed education fought the charter. Vigorous objection came from Edgecombe County, center of the Kehukee Baptist Association, which, in 1784, had gone on record as opposed to education. Joshua Lawrence, who had fought educational efforts for many years, went so far as to write

[92] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1857, p. 8; 1858, p. 8; Ragsdale, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[93] *Minutes of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention*, 1832, p. 5.

a pamphlet entitled *A North Carolina Whig's Memorial and Remonstrance,* signed it "Clod Hopper," and placed a copy on the desk of every legislator. When the bill came up for final consideration in the senate, twenty-nine legislators voted for and twenty-nine against it. The speaker, William D. Moseley, cast the deciding vote in favor of the charter.[94]

The meager provisions of the charter required the school to pay taxes, limited its life to twenty years and its funds to $50,000, and stipulated that the institution was "for the purpose of educating youth, and no other purpose whatsoever."[95] Dissatisfied with the restricted charter, the Baptists applied for and received a more liberal act of incorporation on December 26, 1838, which raised the school to college rank, exempted its lands from taxation up to six hundred acres, allowed it to hold funds up to $250,000, and added fifty years to the time limit of the original charter. In contrast to the opposition encountered by the first charter, the second bill unanimously passed both houses of the legislature.[96]

Wake Forest Institute opened on the manual labor plan in February, 1834, with Samuel Wait, a graduate of Columbian College and more recently agent of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, as principal and sole teacher. Though founded like nearly all other church schools of the time primarily to educate ministers, Wake Forest, like all such institutions, save Furman Theological Institution in South Carolina, admitted lay as well as ministerial students. The average number of students for the first five years, that is, before the Institute became a col-

[94] See Paschal, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61; *North Carolina Baptist Interpreter,* Jan. 4, 1834, p. 12; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[95] *The Charter and Laws of Wake Forest College* (pamphlet, 1839), pp. 3-4.

[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5; Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

lege, was eighty-nine. Between 1839 and 1860 the college enrollment ranged from 82 to 127. From 1834 to 1862, when the college closed temporarily because of the war, the total enrollment was 1,087. Practically all of these students came from the eastern half of North Carolina, which had more wealth and more preparatory schools than the western half of the state.[97]

As we have observed, there was much talk of co-operation in education between Georgia and South Carolina Baptists. Similar moves for joint efforts between the Baptists in North Carolina and South Carolina brought more tangible results. A proposal was made that Wake Forest be the college and Furman the theological school for the Baptists in the Carolinas. In some measure the plan was put into effect, but co-operation ceased when Furman Institution became Furman University in 1850.[98]

Furman University

While the South Carolina Baptists were the first of their denomination in the South to support education, they were the last to establish a college. This tardiness was due in part to the fact that for the better part of a century, 1755-1850, except the years 1837-1840, they limited their efforts to theological education. For the first forty-five years they merely gave financial assistance to young men preparing for the ministry. From 1800 to 1810 one of their ministers, John M. Roberts, with the support of the Charleston Association, operated a school for ministerial students. The first Furman Theological Institution, opened in 1827 under the auspices of the South Carolina

[97] Paschal, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-180; *Catalogues of Wake Forest College*, 1839-1859.

[98] See *Minutes of South Carolina Baptist Convention*, 1833, p. 2; 1841, pp. 4-5; *Minutes of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention*, 1832, p. 16; 1837, p. 16; 1843, pp. 3 f.; M. L. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

Baptist Convention, had a checkered career, was moved about, and ceased operation for brief periods. Nevertheless, it carried on more or less successfully until it finally became the theological department of Furman University in 1851.[99]

Soon after the Baptist denomination split over the question of slavery at the last Triennial Convention in 1844, James Clement Furman, son of Richard Furman, ardent secessionist, and senior professor in Furman Theological Institution, began to direct the thinking of South Carolina Baptists toward the establishment of a college. Consequently the South Carolina Baptist Convention in 1849 took action which resulted in the chartering of Furman University, on December 20, 1850, to be located at Greenville.[100] At first, Furman University had only a chairman of the faculty, but in 1859 this arrangement was discontinued and J. C. Furman was elected president of the school.

Furman University had a theological department, which the South Carolina Baptists aspired, as did the Georgia Baptists concerning the theological school in Mercer University, to have designated as, or to become the nucleus of, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. In 1856 the South Carolina Baptists started a campaign for $100,000. As a result of this drive, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was established in Greenville, South Carolina, in 1859. In 1877 the institution was moved to Louisville, Kentucky.[101] The Baptists in the Old South made no effort to establish theological sem-

[99] See *Minutes of the South Carolina Baptist Convention*, 1826, p. 3, and all years following to 1849; McGlothlin, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[100] McGlothlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-106; H. T. Cook, *The Life Work of James Clement Furman* (Greenville, S. C., 1926), pp. 119-123; *Minutes of the South Carolina Baptist Convention*, 1849, p. 16.

[101] *Minutes of the South Carolina Baptist Convention*, 1856, p. 18; McGlothlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-97, 122-126.

inaries other than those mentioned in connection with the discussion of Mercer and Furman universities.

Furman University prospered, and its enrollment increased to 228 in 1855, but the figure dropped to 154 in 1860.

THE METHODIST CHURCH

Beginning in England under the leadership of John Wesley, whose life almost spanned the eighteenth century, Methodism spread to America. The first Methodist Society in America was formed in the house of Philip Embury in New York City in 1766. Wesley soon sent over lay preachers, the most influential of whom was Francis Asbury, to shepherd the Methodists who were already in America and to spread the Methodist revival.[102]

By the time of the Revolution the Methodists were fairly well established, but since their leaders were from England and their societies were officially identified with the Church of England, the war arrested the growth of Methodism in America.[103] When the conflict began, many of the Methodist preachers returned to England. Francis Asbury, who remained, was sympathetic toward the American cause even though he suffered persecution.[104] After the war Asbury became the acknowledged leader of the Methodists in America, and at the so-called "Christmas Conference" in 1784 at Baltimore, Maryland, where the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized under instructions from John Wesley, he was elected by the preachers as a general superintendent of the

[102] Jesse Lee, *A Short History of the Methodists in the United States of America* (Baltimore, Md., 1810), p. 24; *Journal of Reverend Francis Asbury*, I (Oct. 27, 1771), 14.

[103] Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 60; *Minutes of the Methodist Conference Annually Held in America*, 1773-1813, I, 19.

[104] *Journal of Reverend Francis Asbury*, I (April 11, 1778), 272.

church.[105] When it was first organized, the church had 14,988 members.[106]

On becoming an officially independent denomination the Methodists manifested an interest in education. At the conference in 1784 the question was asked, "What shall we do for the rising generation?" Answer: "Preach expressly on education."[107] Preachers were advised, "You will have need of all the knowledge you can procure."[108] The same conference approved the founding of a college.[109]

The result of this initial interest in education on the part of the Methodists was the opening of Cokesbury College—a school of academy grade—at Abingdon, Maryland, in 1787, and the launching of several elementary schools in the four states of the Old South under Francis Asbury's leadership. From the beginning Asbury favored the establishment of elementary schools and not a college. But he worked hard to make Cokesbury College a success until its final destruction by fire in 1795. All of these institutions quickly failed, as indeed did all schools started by the Methodists for thirty-five years after the organization of their church. Failure was partly due to the fact that Asbury established his schools in out-of-the-way places to shield students from temptations of crowded centers, a factor which made support difficult.[110]

[105] Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-73; *Journal of Reverend Francis Asbury*, I (Nov. 14, 1784), 484; (Dec. 18, 1784), 486.

[106] *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences Annually Held in America*, 1773-1813, I, 46.

[107] *Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1784 (reprint, 1887), p. 17.

[108] *Ibid.*

[109] *Ibid.*, 1788, p. 39.

[110] See *Journal of Reverend Francis Asbury*, II (Dec. 6, 1787), 22; (Jan. 5, 1796), 287; (Jan. 11, 1798, and Feb. 12, 1798), 367, 371; III (Dec. 3, 1802), 94; II (April 21, 1794), 224; II (March 8, 1789), 48; Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 14; A. W. Cummings, *Early Schools of Methodism* (New York, 1886), pp. 35-44, 75-89; W. W. Sweet, *The Rise of Methodism in the West* (New York, 1920), p. 211.

The early American Methodist interest in education, apparently inspired in the main by the enthusiasm of John Wesley and Thomas Coke, soon gave way to indifference and prejudice. Between 1796 and 1816 no mention of education appears in the General Conference Journals. Though the Methodists grew rapidly in numbers, they established no schools during this period, an almost certain indication that their interest in education had waned.[111] Even Francis Asbury, who lived until 1816, concluded that the Lord had not called the Methodists to found schools, and thereafter neglected the cause of education.[112]

Evidence of prejudice against education among the Methodists abounds. Friends of Randolph-Macon College claimed that the institution began under "a weight of prejudice."[113] The Bishops' Address to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1840 observed that "even down to a recent date . . . there existed among us . . . strong opposition to commencing this important enterprise [education] among ourselves."[114] As late as 1850 the Bishops' Address to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, expressed the fear that in a great many portions of the "connection" the importance of education had not been duly felt.[115]

Opposition to theological schools and the education of young men for the specific purpose of making ministers of them was even more pronounced than prejudice against

[111] S. M. Duval, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and Education up to 1869* (New York, 1928), p. 65; Cummings, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-89.

[112] *Journal of Reverend Francis Asbury*, II (Jan. 5, 1796), 287; III (Dec. 7, 1806), 242; III (June 9, 1811), 366; Nathan Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1840), II, 413-414.

[113] L. C. Garland, *Address to the Laity of the Virginia Conference* (pamphlet), May 21, 1841, p. 4.

[114] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1840, p. 140.

[115] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1850, p. 138.

general education. In voting to join the Virginia Conference in the support of Randolph-Macon College the South Carolina Conference carefully worded its resolution. Randolph-Macon College was to be a "purely literary and scientific" school.[116] Ethelbert Drake, editor of the *Christian Sentinel,* forerunner of the *Richmond Christian Advocate,* was in favor of general education, but opposed theological education. He argued that "all Christians should insist upon educating the youth of our country indiscriminately, and that too to the highest possible perfection. . . . But to be harping upon educating the 'pious youth' of our country with a special eye to, and fixed purpose of making ministers of the everlasting gospel of them, for the church's glory and final triumph is to us . . . the very way to tarnish the church's true spiritual glory and finally clothe her in sac-cloth [*sic*] and ashes."[117]

The Bishops' Address to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1840 favored education, but definitely opposed theological schools: "While in our opinion, *the science of the word of God* should be a paramount branch of instruction in our literary institutions, we desire not to be understood as recommending the establishment of 'theological seminaries' in the common acceptation of the term: that is, for the special purpose of educating for the work of the gospel ministry."[118]

The committee on education in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1854 declined to include anything in its report on "the subject of educating candidates for our ministry" on the ground that it was "inappropriate to the precise duty assigned

[116] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Randolph-Macon College, July 4, 1832, p. 67; *Minutes of the South Carolina Conference,* 1832, p. 9.
[117] *Christian Sentinel,* I (Feb. 15, 1833), 146.
[118] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* 1840, pp. 141-142.

them."[119] In this conference one group presented a resolution on the "expediency of adopting measures for the better preparation of candidates for the ministry." On the floor of the conference another group tried to amend the report of the committee on education to the effect "that we earnestly recommend to all the colleges under the care of our church, not to establish any department for the exclusive education of the ministry, or those who are preparing for the ministry." The first resolution was referred to the committee on education; the second was voted down by the conference.[120] The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1858 recommended that all Methodist colleges and universities establish chairs of biblical literature, but definitely specified that it did not recommend the establishment of theological seminaries, nor did it consider such institutions necessary.[121]

The first sign of a renewed interest in education of any sort among the Methodists, following the lapse that began in 1797, appeared in 1816. In that year the General Conference deplored the lack of education among Methodist ministers, declared the acquisition of knowledge to be a ministerial duty, and instructed the bishops to prepare a course of study for young ministers.[122] Four years later the General Conference recommended that all annual conferences "establish, as soon as practicable, literary institutions, under their own control, in such a way and manner as they may think proper."[123] Since the General Conference was the lawmaking body of the Methodist Church, and was therefore charged with the responsibility of de-

[119] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1854, p. 312.
[120] *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 304.
[121] *Ibid.*, 1854, pp. 551, 552.
[122] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1816, p. 149.
[123] *Ibid.*, 1820, pp. 183, 208.

termining the policies of the denomination, the year 1820 may be regarded as the date of the official commitment of the denomination to the support of education.

By 1840 general higher education apparently had become a major interest of the denomination. In the Bishops' Address to the General Conference in that year "a well-digested system of collegiate education" was "loudly called for."[124] The church then owned or controlled twelve colleges and academies in the four states of the Seaboard South alone, to say nothing of similar institutions in other states.[125] Thus despite pronounced prejudice against theological education and some opposition to general education in the denomination, the Methodists developed sufficient zeal to do notable work in the field of higher education prior to the Civil War.

Randolph-Macon College

Randolph-Macon, Methodism's oldest college in America, was projected as a direct result of the recommendation of the General Conference that all annual conferences establish schools as soon as practicable under their own control. This advice was given in 1820 and reiterated in 1824.[126] In 1825 the Virginia Conference, which then included a large part of eastern North Carolina, referred the General Conference action concerning schools to a committee for study.[127] The subject was discussed for several years at each meeting of the conference, while in the meantime the preachers took offerings in their churches for a proposed college. H. G. Leigh, a minister and a native of Perquimans County, North Carolina, and Gabriel P. Disosway, a layman and a graduate of Columbia

[124] *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 140.
[125] *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 162.
[126] *Ibid.*, 1824, p. 295.
[127] Richard Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College* (Richmond, Va., 1898), p. 12.

College, New York, who had some years before moved to Petersburg, Virginia, were the principal leaders in the movement.

The college was called Randolph-Macon in honor of John Randolph and Nathaniel Macon. Both were political heroes of W. O. Goode, the member of the Virginia legislature who introduced the bill for the charter of the college. Charters for church colleges were more easily secured if names with no denominational or religious significance were selected for the institutions. As we have already noted, in 1804 the Georgia legislature was unwilling to grant a charter for "The Baptist College of Georgia," but complied when the Baptists were willing to incorporate the "Trustees of Mount Enon Academy." Virginia Episcopalians complained that if they were willing to give their theological seminary at Alexandria a name which would not reveal its true character they could get a charter.[128] The charter for Randolph-Macon College was granted on February 3, 1830, and the school opened in 1832.[129] Stephen Olin, then a professor in the University of Georgia, became the first president.

The original charter did not mention the Methodist Church. The act forbade the establishment of a theological professorship. It permitted the trustees to establish a department of agriculture in connection with the college, but provided that no student should be "required to study or labor in said department in any manner contrary to the wishes of the person or persons" who placed him in the institution.[130] The trustees could admit gratuitously "such person or persons as they may think proper.[131]

[128] *Petition of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia for a Law Authorizing the Religious Congregations of this State to Hold Property to a Limited Amount* (pamphlet, n.d.), p. 5.

[129] *The Charter of Randolph-Macon College* (pamphlet, 1833).

[130] *Ibid.* [131] *Ibid.*

The South Carolina and Georgia annual conferences cordially co-operated with the Virginia Methodists in the control and support of Randolph-Macon College, and in return each year were given the right to enter several students free of tuition fees.[132] When the North Carolina Conference was formed in 1840, it continued co-operation with the Virginia Conference in support of the college. Of course, conferences in the states south of Virginia withdrew their support from Randolph-Macon when they established colleges of their own.

Even though Randolph-Macon College drew students from as far away as Florida and Mississippi, its student body prior to the Civil War was small. Its peak enrollment was 165. The college was first located at Boydton, Virginia, near the North Carolina line. In 1868 it was moved to Ashland, Virginia.

Emory College

Upon pledging support to Randolph-Macon College in 1832, the Georgia Conference reserved the right to start a school of its own when it should so desire. Two years later the conference reiterated its pledge of co-operation, but before the vote was taken one member declared that if education was a good thing the Georgia Methodists ought to have a college of their own.[133] Evidently others thought so too, for the Georgia Conference Manual Labor School was chartered and opened for students at Covington, Newton County, that very year.[134] The manual labor project proved unsatisfactory, as it did everywhere in the

[132] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Randolph-Macon College, October 15, 1831, p. 55; June 13, 1834, p. 106; *Minutes of the South Carolina Conference*, 1832, p. 9; 1833, p. 10; 1834, p. 8; H. M. Bullock, *A History of Emory University* (Nashville, Tenn., 1936), pp. 17, 50.

[133] George F. Pierce, *Address at the Laying of the Corner Stone of a New Edifice for Emory College*, Feb. 23, 1852 (pamphlet), p. 7.

[134] Bullock, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

South, and the principal, Ignatius A. Few, who had been educated at Princeton, encouraged the Georgia Methodists to believe that they were more in need of a college than a manual labor academy. As a result, Emory College was chartered on December 10, 1836, and opened in 1837.[135]

At the suggestion of James O. Andrew, leader of the conference and later bishop, the school was named for Bishop John Emory of New York, who had died soon after presiding over the Georgia Conference in 1835.

A campaign for funds netted $98,060 in subscriptions. Before the pledges were collected, the subscribers were asked to pay interest on them as if the funds were already invested. On such an insecure financial foundation the college was launched.[136] Like so many other church colleges of the time, Emory struggled with debt for many years, but by 1855 the strain had eased enough for the conference committee on education to report that the school was no longer financially embarrassed.[137] This, however, did not mean that the institution was entirely out of debt, for in 1861 the college owed $14,013, of which $4,000 had been borrowed fifteen years before to pay debts incurred still earlier.[138] Between 1845 and 1860 the number of students in Emory College ranged from 100 to 215. The largest enrollment was reached in 1853-1854.[139]

Emory and Henry College

The Holston Conference, composed of Methodist churches in eastern Tennessee, southwestern Virginia,

[135] *Minutes of the Georgia Annual Conference*, 1837, p. 4.
[136] *Southern Christian Advocate*, Nov. 10, 1837; Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[137] *Minutes of the Georgia Conference*, 1855, p. 29.
[138] *Southern Christian Advocate*, Feb. 28, 1861.
[139] See *Catalogues of Emory College*, 1845-1860.

and extreme western North Carolina, established a manual labor academy at New Market, Tennessee, before 1834. Two years later the conference decided that the school was poorly located and inadequate for the educational needs of the people. Consequently, the institution was moved to what is now Emory, Virginia. The new school opened on the manual labor plan in 1838, and was chartered as Emory and Henry College on March 25, 1839.[140]

The charter prohibited the selection of a majority of the trustees from any one religious denomination, declared that no person should be ineligible to a position of trust in the college or be secluded from participation in its privileges and benefits on account of his religious tenets, and provided that no theological department or professorship should be established in the college. The trustees could receive subscriptions, and if they were not paid, they could enforce the payment by warrant before a magistrate or by motion in any court in Virginia.[141] The trustees were also required to report annually to the directors of the State Literary Fund. While the Methodist Church was not named in the charter, the college was from the beginning, and has continued to be, a Methodist institution.

Charles Collins, a native of Maine and a graduate of Wesleyan College, Connecticut, was the first president. He gathered about him as teachers three other New Englanders—Ephraim E. Wiley, William Harlow, and Edmund Longley. Wiley succeeded Collins as president in 1852 and continued in office until 1879. Attendance grew steadily, and reached 283 in 1860.

[140] "Historical Sketch of Emory and Henry College," *Emory and Henry Bulletin*, XXIX (April, 1937), 11; Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 320; *Charter of Emory and Henry College*, Article 4 (pamphlet, n.d.).

[141] *Charter of Emory and Henry College*, Articles 4, 6, 7, 8 (pamphlet, n.d.).

Wofford College

In 1850 Benjamin Wofford, one of the few Methodist preachers who accumulated wealth, died and willed $100,000 to the South Carolina Conference for the establishment of a college in his native district (the vicinity of Spartanburg).[142] This was the largest single bequest by an individual for educational purposes in the South up to that time. The conference used one half of the money for buildings and grounds and the balance for endowment. Ten thousand dollars from the conference "Centenary Education Fund" was added to the endowment. By 1861 the college had increased its endowment to $200,000, but all of it was lost in the war.[143] The charter was granted on December 16, 1851.

W. M. Wightman, the first president and later a bishop, served until 1859. He was succeeded by A. M. Shipp, who, as a professor in the University of North Carolina, had declined to accept the chair of English literature when Wofford College opened. James H. Carlisle, associated with the institution for more than sixty years, was a member of the faculty from the beginning. The college opened in 1854 with nine students. Five years later there were 120.[144]

Trinity College (Duke University)

What is now Duke University began as an elementary school in Randolph County, North Carolina, and was known as Union Institute, since it was patronized by two neighboring communities, the one made up mostly of

[142] D. D. Wallace, MS Historical Sketch of the First Half Century of Wofford College (n.d.). Professor Wallace kindly permitted the writer to examine this manuscript. Also, see A. M. Shipp, *Methodism in South Carolina* (Nashville, Tenn., 1884), p. 564.

[143] Shipp, *op. cit.*, pp. 564, 576.

[144] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Wofford College, Nov. 21, 1856; Dec. 2, 1859, p. 39.

Methodists and the other of Quakers. As early as 1832 the school was housed in a building made of logs. In 1839 Brantley York, a Methodist preacher, became the teacher at a salary of $200 a year. In 1841 the Union Institute Academy was chartered by the state.[145] In the same year Braxton Craven, then nineteen or twenty years of age, entered the school as a student, and was soon elected an assistant teacher. The next year York took another school and Craven became principal of Union Institute. While he taught, Craven kept up his own studies and in 1850 passed his examinations and received his bachelor of arts degree from Randolph-Macon College. The following year the University of North Carolina conferred on him the degree of master of arts.[146]

The school prospered under Craven's leadership. Having developed an interest in training schoolteachers, Craven in 1850 asked the legislature to convert his institution into a normal college. The North Carolina Assembly agreed to the rechartering of Union Institute as Normal College in January, 1851, but declined to support it with funds.[147] This disposition of the matter was unsatisfactory to Craven, because he needed financial aid to lift the school to college grade. Obtaining nothing from the state, save a $10,000 loan from the North Carolina Literary Fund in 1854, he turned to the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church, of which he was a member.

In 1851 the trustees of Normal College agreed to admit Methodist ministerial students free of tuition fees, if the conference would endorse the school and appoint a visiting committee. The conference agreed, and in turn

[145] *Autobiography of Brantley York*, ed. W. K. Boyd (Durham, N. C., 1910), p. 46; *Laws of North Carolina*, 1841-1842, p. 116.
[146] *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 48; Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
[147] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1850-1851, pp. 156-158.

asked for the right to appoint one of its ministers to the chair of English literature in the college. The North Carolina Conference could do little at the time to help Normal College, because it was already pledged to cooperate with the Virginia Conference in the support of Randolph-Macon College.

Fortunately for Craven in his quest for help, relations between the conferences in the two states soon became strained over differences between Charles F. Deems and W. A. Smith, members of the North Carolina and Virginia conferences, respectively, the one a professor in the University of North Carolina and the other president of Randolph-Macon College. The ill feeling between the two men flared into a public quarrel in 1855 and 1856 with each preferring charges against the character of the other before his conference. The quarrel dated back to 1848, when Deems taught one year under Smith at Randolph-Macon College. Each conference supported its own man against the other, and relations between the two bodies were soon strained. When the ill feeling between the two conferences reached a climax in 1856, Braxton Craven offered his college to the North Carolina Conference and it was accepted, the conference at the same time withdrawing support from Randolph-Macon College. Thereafter Normal College belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[148] A new name was selected and the institution was chartered as Trinity College on February 19, 1859.[149]

Trinity College had a record attendance of 238 in 1858. For the next two years the enrollment was 192 and

[148] See *Minutes of the North Carolina Conference*, 1856, p. 16; MS Minutes and Resolutions of the Trustees of Normal College, Oct. 10, 1856, p. 15; Dec. 5, 1856, p. 16; July 14, 1857.

[149] MS Minutes and Resolutions of the Trustees of Normal College, June 24, 1858, p. 26; Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

194, respectively. There were sixty graduates between 1852 and 1860.[150]

The Methodists were tardy in establishing theological seminaries. Between 1784 and 1817 "all the more important denominations with the exception of the Methodists, had made provision for the education of their ministers in institutions manned and supported by teachers of their own communion."[151] The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, founded no theological seminary before the Civil War.[152]

OTHER DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES

The four denominations already considered were numerically the major religious bodies in the Old South. Furthermore, their efforts on behalf of education greatly surpassed those of other churches in the area. But in order to complete the picture of the section, a brief summary of the educational activities of other denominations, along with an account of schools for women, is necessary.

Georgetown College (Georgetown University) was founded by the Roman Catholic Church in the District of Columbia in 1815. The Disciples of Christ in 1840 established Bethany College at Bethany, Virginia (now West Virginia). Catawba College, now at Salisbury, was founded at Newton, North Carolina, in 1852 by the Reformed Church. Roanoke College, Roanoke, Virginia, and Newberry College, Newberry, South Carolina, were

[150] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1858-1861.

[151] William Adams Brown, *The Education of American Ministers* (New York, 1934), I, 75-76.

[152] The Methodist Episcopal Church opened a "Biblical Institute" at Newberry, Vermont, in 1841. The name "theological seminary" was avoided so as not to give offense to weak brethren. This school was moved to Concord, New Hampshire, in 1847, and to Boston University in 1867 (Cummings, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-379). Garrett Biblical Institute was incorporated by the legislature of Illinois in 1855 (*ibid.*, pp. 380-387).

founded by the Lutheran Church in 1853 and 1856, respectively.[153]

SCHOOLS FOR WOMEN

The education of women was debated pro and con in the Old South, and despite opposition the churches were committed to the cause long before 1860. Fifty or more academies for women were established under the auspices of the four major religious denominations in the South, distributed as follows: Presbyterian 21, Methodist 14, Episcopalian 2, and Baptist at least 13.

Deserving of special mention as a school for women is Salem Female Academy at Salem (now Winston-Salem), North Carolina, established in 1772 by the Moravian Church. In 1802 it was opened to "any Christian girl," and before 1860 more than four thousand women had attended. It was raised to college grade after the Civil War.[154]

One coeducational academy grew into a college after the Civil War, viz., New Garden Boarding School, which was founded by the Society of Friends. Located near Greensboro, North Carolina, it is known today as Guilford College. This institution, chartered in 1833, at first admitted only Quaker boys and girls. Later its doors were opened to students of other denominations. In 1850 its enrollment was ninety, of whom forty were Quakers.[155]

Prior to the Civil War the Methodists established four schools for women definitely of college grade which survive to this day—Wesleyan and La Grange colleges in Georgia, Greensboro College in North Carolina, and Columbia College in South Carolina. Wesleyan, the oldest

[153] Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-54.
[154] A. L. Fries, *Historical Sketch of Salem Female Academy* (Salem, N. C., 1902), pp. 7-8.
[155] Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

chartered college for women in the United States,[156] was established on December 23, 1836, as Georgia Female College. At first the school was undenominational; it was taken over by the Methodists in 1839 and became Wesleyan Female College. La Grange College began as an academy in 1831 and was made a college in 1847.[157] The Georgia Methodist Conference bought the institution in 1856.[158] Prior to the Civil War attendance at La Grange College ran as high as 250. Greensboro College was chartered in 1838, but did not open until 1846. Both the North Carolina and Virginia conferences supported it, just as they co-operated in handling Randolph-Macon as their college for men. Columbia College, Columbia, South Carolina, was the outgrowth of an academy for girls taught by a Methodist minister, Elias Marks. This college was chartered on December 21, 1854, but did not open its doors until 1859.[159]

[156] Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (New York, N. Y., and Lancaster, Pa., 1929), II, 161.

[157] "Acts of the Georgia Legislature Approved December 26, 1831," p. 4; Dec. 17, 1847, pp. 120-121. Cited in *La Grange College Bulletin*, 1936-1937, p. 10.

[158] *Minutes of the Georgia Conference*, 1856, p. 31.

[159] *Minutes of the South Carolina Conference*, 1854, p. 24; Shipp, *op. cit.*, pp. 571-572.

CHAPTER II

Why the Churches Wanted Colleges

As late as 1820 there was only one church college in the Old South, and it was not a typical denominational school. Between 1820 and 1860 twenty-five or more church colleges were established in this area. What is the explanation of the rapid rise of these institutions of higher learning? What were the motives and ideals of the denominations in establishing colleges? As motives in individual conduct are often mixed, so are they in the building of institutions. Some ten different motives were more or less dominant as church leaders projected colleges under denominational auspices.

THE EDUCATION OF MINISTERS

Certainly the chief object of the churches in founding colleges was the education of ministers. No denomination founded, or officially gave its support to, an institution of higher education without stating that one reason for such action was the need of an educated ministry.

William and Mary College was chartered by the Crown in 1693 in order that the church in Virginia might be furnished with a seminary for ministers of the gospel. The Concord Presbytery declared that its primary purpose in launching Davidson College was the education of young men for the gospel ministry.[1] Luther Rice, who was largely responsible for the founding of Columbian College and an educational leader among the Baptists for a quarter of a century, maintained that a proper collegiate education of young ministers was the essential and par-

[1] MS Minutes of the Concord Presbytery, April 30, 1835, p. 20.

amount object of all his exertions.[2] In commenting on the founding of Wake Forest Institute, Samuel Wait, the first principal, believed that the point which outweighed all others in the minds of the members of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, was the proper training of young brethren designed of God for the ministry.[3] H. G. Leigh, leader in the establishment of Randolph-Macon College, declared that his aim was an institution in which at least a good proportion of young men called of God to preach might receive a more liberal education.[4]

Other evidence that the churches founded colleges to educate ministers is the fact that they actually used the institutions for that purpose. As late as 1916 it was claimed that 50 per cent of all the graduates of Hampden-Sidney College had entered the ministry.[5] In the first fifty years of its life Davidson College graduated 599 men, of whom 181, or 30 per cent, entered the ministry.[6] Twenty-one out of forty-nine students in the Virginia Baptist Seminary (Richmond College) in 1836 were ministerial students.[7] Thirty-five per cent of the graduates of Wake Forest College prior to 1862 became ministers.[8] Of the 224 graduates of Randolph-Macon College between 1835 and 1857, 46, approximately 20 per cent, entered the ministry.[9] The *Richmond Christian Advocate* for June 5, 1856, observed editorially that it was impressed with the number of Randolph-Macon graduates entering the ministry.

The courtesies shown ministerial students and sons of

[2] *Christian Index*, June 29, 1833. [3] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[4] W. H. Moore, *Life and Labors of Reverend H. G. Leigh* (pamphlet, 1896), p. 48.

[5] C. J. Heathwole, *History of Education in Virginia* (New York, 1916), p. 144.

[6] *Semi-Centennial Catalogue of Davidson College*, 1837-1891, p. 168.

[7] *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia*, 1836, p. 15.

[8] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

[9] *Catalogue of Randolph-Macon College*, 1858-1859, pp. 6-12.

ministers in church colleges were significant. Most of the schools from the beginning admitted ministerial students without tuition fees, and in the 1840's and 1850's the custom of admitting the sons of preachers on the same basis was adopted. Some colleges made the latter proviso contingent upon the raising of certain amounts for endowment by the denomination.

The amount of assistance given ministerial students, in addition to free tuition, varied. In the beginning the South Carolina Baptists proposed to make the education of young ministers entirely gratuitous, furnishing tuition, clothing, board, and incidentals. In other instances, books, food, and clothing, if needed, were given. In Wake Forest College a ministerial student who was not a beneficiary of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention was required, until 1859, to pay all charges on the same basis as lay students; and beneficiaries who received board were requested to repay as much of it as possible in after-years without interest. In Virginia, Baptist ministerial students who received free board were required to give a written pledge that they would later refund without interest the money thus used in their behalf. But, if they went as foreign missionaries, they were released from this obligation.[10]

The increased demand for ministers at home and in the foreign mission field made the churches conscious of the need for colleges in which they could prepare men for the work. In 1836 the Virginia Baptists noted that the "inviting fields of the west are continually alluring our ministers from Virginia" and that the cry from every part

[10] See Ryland, *op. cit.*, p. 14; *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia*, 1836, p. 19; Ragsdale, *op. cit.*, p. 163; *Minutes of the South Carolina Baptist Convention*, 1826, p. 3; 1833, p. 11; Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 609; Shipp, *op. cit.*, p. 563; Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 96; MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Wofford College, Nov. 25, 1853, p. 3.

of the state was for more preachers.[11] Denominational leaders saw no way to meet this demand for more ministers other than by education. Jesse Mercer, pointing out the need of more Baptist preachers in Georgia, would get them by letting "pious young men receive the aids of learning."[12] The Synod of North Carolina observed, "Unquestionable facts force upon us the conviction, that from our Colleges, and mainly from those under denominational influence, our Theological Seminaries must expect students, our Churches pastors, our home destitutions supplies, and the Pagan world missionaries."[13]

Leaders in the churches, keenly aware of the rising cultural level of society, quickly concluded that if the churches were to hold the people, ministers must be better educated. H. G. Leigh, Virginia Conference leader in the establishment of Randolph-Macon College, noted that while in former times an untrained preacher with an "experience of grace" could win men to the faith by "telling his experience," times had changed, and that if Methodism was to hold its own as a spiritual force in the land, the education of its ministry had become a necessity.[14] One Baptist writer inquired, "How is it possible for a man to teach those already better taught than himself?" and expressed the fear that already ministers were rising to address congregations generally much better versed in scientific and biblical knowledge than themselves.[15] Observing that educated young people (particularly before conversion) would not listen to uneducated ministers, Thomas Curtis, pastor of the Baptist Church at Penfield, Georgia, the seat of Mercer University, declared that he favored closing high schools and colleges to lay students if preach-

[11] *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia*, 1836, p. 17.
[12] *Minutes of the General Association of Baptists in the State of Georgia*, 1822, p. 8.
[13] *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina*, 1854, p. 29.
[14] Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[15] *Christian Index*, Oct. 27, 1832.

ers were not to be trained specifically for a coming age. In his opinion, thrusting uneducated ministers upon educated young people would drive the latter from the pews.[16]

EDUCATION A FUNCTION OF RELIGION

In the second place, the churches founded colleges because they believed that education was a function of religion. Those familiar with the history of religion agree that wherever this phenomenon appears it manifests a concern with man's intellectual pursuits. Any contrary attitude, such as the prejudice of the Methodists and Baptists already cited, is probably due to some special circumstance and is relatively short-lived. In any event, as the popular denominations grew in strength and influence, they were certain that education was a definite function of religion. They became fully informed on, and frequently cited, the traditional relationship between religion and education. According to the *Christian Index*, a Baptist paper, "Christianity has always been the friend and prompter of learning. Most of the schools we have were founded by the churches as acts of Christian benevolence."[17] The Georgia Baptist Convention observed: "Of all the objects of Christian enterprise, there is none of deeper interest than that which provides an enlightened and judicious education for our youth."[18]

Leaders were as certain of a natural relationship between education and religion as some are today that there is an intimate connection between Christianity and democracy. "That the connection between religion and education is a natural one may be shown from the constitution of

[16] Thomas Curtis, *Education For and In the Ministry* (pamphlet, 1841), pp. 10-11.

[17] *Christian Index*, April 28, 1836.

[18] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1851, p. 9.

the human mind. . . . The general classification of the powers of the mind into moral and intellectual, has met the approbation of all distinguished writers upon such subjects."[19] "The true and proper aspect of education is . . . that it must be carried on in close and living union with religion; so that the elements, the evidences and the history of Christianity, may form a part of the earliest food of the youthful mind."[20] "In every country converted by the gospel, the church and the school house have risen side by side, and the light of science has mingled with the light of revelation. It is a natural alliance; the affinity is divine. God hath joined them together."[21] "We maintain that the intellect and morals of the mind are so related that it is utterly impossible to train the intellect without exerting a constant and corresponding influence over the morals."[22]

The churches were certain that highly beneficial results would come to society if education and religion were united, and they were equally certain of direful consequences if the two were disjoined. E. A. Nisbet, Vice-President of Oglethorpe College, saw in the union of education and religion the wisdom of this world uniting with the revelation of God to bless mankind: "The pure affections of the heart should mingle in the bright emanations of the mind—and the labors of science shed radiance upon the page of revelation. The human mind should rise toward the skies, and meet the will of God."[23] R. H. Morrison, President of Davidson College, asserted that

[19] Warren DuPre, *Address Before the Alumni of Randolph-Macon College*, June, 1844 (pamphlet, 1844), p. 4.

[20] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1848.

[21] Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[22] Professor William A. Harris, of La Grange College, in the *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, XII (1858), 80.

[23] E. A. Nisbet, *Address Before the Gwinnett Labor Institute*, June 30, 1837 (pamphlet, 1837), p. 15.

education and religion acting in conjunction would "promote order, temperance, justice, benevolence, faith, humility and holiness."[24] After the South Carolina Methodists had successfully launched their Cokesbury Conference School, an institution of academy grade, the rector reported to the trustees: "The great desideratum in a course of education has been heretofore an institution combining the advantage of a solid education with the blessings and privileges of our holy religion. Here we endeavor to make the Bible the foundation, and require everything to bow to its sacred precept."[25]

On the other hand, spokesmen for the churches looked gloomily at the results of education when separated from religion. Alexander Means, Professor at Emory College, argued that without religion education "may illumine, but it cannot heat; it may shine, but it cannot burn; nor can it infuse the warmth of moral life and religious hope into the world."[26] "Remove the restraints and sanctions of religion, and talents and intellectual attainments can't stay the demons of human depravity which rise up for destruction."[27] "Intellectual attainments, however rich and splendid, will do no good, and give no true happiness without moral principle. Mental cultivation alone cannot subdue the corruption of our hearts or restore us to the favor of God."[28] "To educate the head and leave the heart untouched is to increase the capacity of the scholar to do evil. . . . The great sin of the mother of mankind was a thirst for intellectual knowledge without a corresponding

[24] R. H. Morrison, *Inaugural Address as President of Davidson College*, Aug. 2, 1838 (pamphlet, 1838), p. 15.

[25] *South Carolina Christian Advocate*, Dec. 15, 1837.

[26] Alexander Means, *Address Designed to Enforce the Importance of Sanctified Learning and Home Institutions to the South*, June 30, 1848 (pamphlet, 1848), p. 27.

[27] Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 13. [28] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

desire for holiness."[29] "A college without religious instruction must necessarily be a public nuisance."[30]

The inadequacy of science when divorced from religion was stressed. Science has its uses, "yet when left alone to form character or control conduct, it is almost impotent. . . . In science there is no high and holy standard of right and wrong—nothing to restrain the passions and curb the will. . . . It does not of necessity lead to virtue."[31] "The varied and ample resources of science" must be used to develop the mind, but the very elevation and enlargement of the mind, "if it be left unsanctified by the spirit of piety, and unmolded by the morals of the Bible, will but augment its power to curse."[32]

These educational leaders in the churches declared without hesitation that church-supported education was necessary to save the republic. When he was inaugurated as president of Hampden-Sidney College, D. L. Carroll asserted, "I tremble for the safety of my country . . . when I reflect that here an attempt has been made to break up the alliance between learning and religion, and to sever our literary institutions from the practical influence of a pure Christianity."[33] France was cited as an example of what might be expected if education were divorced from religion: "The wanton butcheries . . . of the French Revolution demonstrated most clearly the fearful consequences of an education which rejects the cardinal principles of sound scholarship—'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' "[34]

A few statements to the effect that the state was not

[29] D. H. Hill, *Inaugural Address as Professor of Mathematics at Davidson College*, Feb. 28, 1855 (pamphlet, n.d.).

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[31] Nisbet, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[32] Means, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[33] D. L. Carroll, *Inaugural Address as President of Hampden-Sidney College*, 1835 (pamphlet, 1835), p. 19.

[34] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

competent to educate and that all education should be in the hands of the church may be found.[35] But since many churchmen approved and taught in state and private schools, and since the Protestant churches, unlike the Roman Catholic Church, put forth no determined effort to establish a complete system of ecclesiastically controlled education from elementary schools to colleges, the churches generally had no great objection to state-supported education. Apparently churchmen considered religion properly related to education when teachers were personally pious, doctrinally orthodox, and willing to inculcate by example and precept the general teachings of the Christian religion in the minds of students, regardless of who founded or controlled the schools. Of course, in establishing and operating colleges the churches believed that they were making a large contribution toward the desired goal of the union of religion and education.

TO LOWER THE COST OF EDUCATION AND TO BRING IT WITHIN THE REACH OF THE COMMON MAN

Another aim of the churches in founding colleges was to lower the cost of higher education and to bring it within reach of the sons and daughters of the common man. It should be remembered that the rise of the church colleges before the Civil War was coincident with the rise of the common man in the life of the nation. Andrew Jackson, a symbol of interest in the common man, was elected president of the United States in 1828. It was then that the

[35] "Religion is the foundation of all sound education. . . . This can only be carried out by church schools and church colleges which shall unite, avowedly, religious instruction with literary instruction . . ." (*Gospel Messenger and Protestant Episcopal Register*, XXVI, 1850, 322). "The great Head of the Church, since the world began, since the Gospel has gone among the nations, never intended that this sacred duty should be left to the state, or to individuals" (*Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina*, 1848, p. 164).

churches began building colleges in earnest. Since the popular religious denominations ministered in the main to the common people, the fact that they began founding colleges at this time seems significant. The people were demanding education at less cost. A hint as to what they expected of the churches in this regard is seen in the fact that North Carolina Baptists accused the Wake Forest trustees of violating a moral obligation when the price of board at the college was increased in 1839.[36] In any event, much evidence is at hand to show that when the churches in the Old South founded colleges one of their primary aims was to lower the cost of education.

When the Methodists first seriously considered entering the field of higher education, the General Conference rejected the idea of one big university for the whole denomination. The General Conference observed that not half the annual conferences were provided with so much as academies, and declared that for the good of religion, government, and society the church ought "to make provision for the common instruction of the *many* before" exerting itself "to establish and endow a university for the few."[37] Before Randolph-Macon College opened, the trustees announced that they were determined "to reduce the expenses of obtaining a liberal and finished education to a sum probably not exceeding one hundred dollars per annum for board and tuition."[38] The *Christian Sentinel*, a Virginia Methodist paper, referred to this college as "a cheap literary institution" which would bring "a liberal education within the reach of the means of the great body of the people."[39] In his inaugural address as president of

[36] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 380.
[37] *Methodist Magazine*, XI (1828), 277-278.
[38] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Randolph-Macon College, Oct. 15, 1831, p. 55.
[39] *Christian Sentinel*, Sept. 20, 1833.

Randolph-Macon College, Stephen Olin advocated a school that would "meet the wants and the claims of the age" and "reduce the charges of education to the lowest possible amount."[40] Wake Forest Institute was to be "a good cheap school."[41] In 1848 the Georgia Presbyterians called for a school for women, specifying that the terms must be so moderate that the daughters of ordinary farmers could afford the expenses.[42] At the opening of the Spartanburg Female College (Methodist) the chairman of the board of trustees declared that they would "maintain their original purpose of *cheapening* the cost of instruction, so that even those who are not rich may yet bestow upon their young the blessings of a liberal and accomplished education. They would have the daughters of poverty even drink freely of the fountains of knowledge."[43] President Charles Collins of Emory and Henry College claimed: "These schools represent the middling interests of society. They are called into existence by the necessities of men of moderate estates, whose means require educational facilities near at hand, or which can be commanded at moderate expense. These men constitute the great mass of our tax-paying, law-supporting, and fund-creating population; the 'bone and sinew' of the state."[44]

Mercer, Richmond, Wake Forest, Emory, Emory and Henry, Davidson, Erskine, and Oglethorpe colleges, not to mention some academies under church auspices in the South, all began as manual labor schools. Evidence indi-

[40] Stephen Olin, *Inaugural Address as President of Randolph-Macon College*, March 5, 1834 (pamphlet, 1834), p. 26.

[41] *North Carolina Baptist Interpreter*, Aug. 2, 1834, pp. 189-190.

[42] Stacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-159.

[43] C. F. Deems, *Annals of Southern Methodism for 1856* (Nashville, Tenn., 1857), p. 127.

[44] Charles Collins, in *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1855, p. 30.

cates that one reason for adopting the manual labor plan in these colleges at the outset was the belief that it would lower the cost of education.

The manual labor idea came from Europe, where it had been used with some measure of success. But the emphasis in Fellenberg's school in Switzerland, where the manual labor plan was first attempted, was upon the development of well-rounded persons rather than economy.

In 1831, the manual labor idea having reached America, a "Manual Labor Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions" was formed in New York. This society made an elaborate report in 1832, suggesting seventeen advantages of the manual labor type of school,[45] among which were maintenance of the health of the students, the safeguarding of morals, the dignifying of labor, the development of habits of industry, education in scientific agriculture, and the preservation of republican institutions. This report attracted widespread attention and was without doubt the inspiration for the later founding of many colleges on the manual labor plan throughout the country.

The churches fixed their attention mainly upon the suggestion that the plan would lower the cost of education. They believed that if students worked two or three hours a day on the college farm, they could earn or produce nearly enough to defray expenses. Most of the contemporary favorable references to the system mention this economy. Robert Ryland, the first principal of the Virginia Baptist Seminary, asserted that the Virginia Baptists viewed the manual labor plan as a means of "diminishing the expenses" of education.[46] In commenting on the plan a few years after its abandonment at Emory College, George F. Pierce observed:

[45] Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44. [46] Ryland, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

The Manual Labor System proved to be exceedingly popular. It was the very ideal, harmonizing public sentiment in two very important particulars. It was to cheapen education and teach literary men to work. . . . A new era was about to dawn on society. The whole tribe of gentlemen loafers were to be superseded and substituted by a nobler genus, and the poor were to be elevated by bringing education within the reach of all who were willing to work to pay for their bread.[47]

A little experience with the manual labor plan, however, proved that it was unpopular, unprofitable, and impractical. It was quickly abandoned by all the church colleges in the Old South. Mercer University, longer than any other college, adhered to it for thirteen years. The Virginia Baptists in abolishing manual labor in their school expressed the disillusionment of the denominations with the plan:

The expectations of the society, on this score, have been doomed to disappointment. But as far as we can learn, the same has been true of all similar schools, north and south of us, in this country and in Europe. . . . The theory is plain and feasible, that fifty young men, with premises and preceptors gratis, could by devoting less than half of their time to manual labor, support themselves or pay their board and incidental expenses; but theories are useless when contradicted by facts.[48]

This feature of the seminary has been gradually fading from view, until, (like all similar institutions in our own and other countries) it has, by its unpopularity with the students, been virtually abandoned, and the arable ground has been disposed of, for the year, to the principal, who will manage it for the benefit of the seminary.[49]

The unpopularity of the plan with the students may be judged from the following notice to which the editor

[47] Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[48] *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia*, 1840, p. 18.
[49] *Ibid.*, 1841, p. 16.

of the *Christian Index* gave space in January, 1845: "OBITUARY—The Manual Labor Department became defunct some months since, and was interred with due honor by the Board of Trustees at its last session. Not a student shed a tear over its grave, and, if the Faculty wept, their tears were unobserved by us."[50]

Notwithstanding the failure of the manual labor system, the church colleges did lower the cost of higher education. Fees for tuition, board, and other items were usually set so low at the opening of church colleges that the institutions quickly went into debt. The deficits in the steward's department at Wake Forest Institute were ruinous.[51] Catalogue prices show that the church colleges offered education at two thirds to three fourths the cost in state universities in the Old South throughout the period prior to 1860.

In spite of the failure of the manual labor idea, which originally encouraged the popular churches to enter the field of higher education, and in spite of heavy debts which endangered the existence of their colleges, denominational leaders pointed with pride to the fact that education cost less in church schools. Thomas Crocker, assistant agent for Wake Forest College in 1845, claimed that the fees at his institution were 25 per cent lower than at any other college in the United States of which he had knowledge.[52] George F. Pierce boasted that four church colleges for men and fifteen for women had made their influence felt in almost every county in Georgia and had brought education within reach of the poor: "They have brought education down from the upper walks of life to the humble and needy."[53] In 1844 the church colleges in Virginia

[50] Ragsdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74. [51] *Biblical Recorder*, Jan. 5, 1839.
[52] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 254. See Chapter V and Appendix III for further details on educational costs in church and state colleges.
[53] Pierce, *op. cit.*

sought state aid on the ground that they had prepared a large proportion of "the well qualified teachers of the state," and that they had been able to do this by reducing expenses and bringing education "within the reach of those who are in moderate circumstances."[54]

A SENSE OF OBLIGATION

As the denominations grew in numbers and influence, they considered themselves an important part of the nation and therefore under obligation to make a definite contribution to the cultural life of the country. The *Southern Christian Advocate* argued that the Methodists could not "meet the just demands of American society upon one of the largest bodies of religionists in the country" unless they founded schools.[55] Alexander Means considered the same denomination an "integrant portion of the political power" and therefore "solemnly bound by the obligations of patriotism, as well as of Christianity, to furnish our quota of enlightened minds and sound morals for the high places of legislation and dominion."[56] Jesse Mercer felt that, since the Baptists constituted an important portion of the population and held large pecuniary resources, they were "under a commanding obligation to contribute their portion to the education of the public mind."[57] E. A. Nisbet believed that true patriotism on the part of the church consisted in improving the moral and intellectual condition of the people.[58] The Concord Presbytery expected Davidson College to confer a great amount of good upon the country and the church of God.[59] Thus the

[54] *Memorial of the Convention of Colleges to the General Assembly of Virginia for State Aid*, Jan. 4, 1844 (pamphlet, 1844), p. 9.

[55] *Southern Christian Advocate*, May 21, 1852.

[56] Means, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[57] C. D. Mallary, *Memoir of Elder Jesse Mercer* (pamphlet, 1844), pp. 160-161.

[58] Nisbet, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[59] MS Minutes of the Concord Presbytery, Oct. 12, 1844, p. 470.

churches regarded their schools as a means of discharging their obligations to the life of the nation.

Of course, the sense of obligation to their own constituency was stronger still. J. C. Furman asserted, "The education of our sons in South Carolina is one of those things which we cannot give up."[60] "It behooves us to provide for the education of our own children and those of our own friends, in schools within our own control."[61]

> Many thousands, especially in the South, have strong claims on us especially as a church. . . . Now they cry to the church to furnish their children with the elements of a sound moral and intellectual education. We echo it back to you. . . . We cannot but feel our obligation in this matter. If it is important to have Christian principles blended with literary instruction in schools, we owe it to our common Christianity to institute and patronize such schools. If the wants of the Methodist people challenge our regard, (as they imperatively do), we owe it to them as Methodists to see to the education of their children, and not leave them to be turned over into other hands.[62]

"It is our bounden duty to provide for the millions of youth whom God, in his wonderful providence, has placed under our immediate influence."[63]

TO STRENGTHEN DENOMINATIONAL LOYALTY

Leaders were aware that a college would serve as a center around which denominational loyalty in a given area could be focused. According to J. C. Furman, the South Carolina Baptists needed a college to develop a "bond of union throughout the state."[64] When Emory

[60] H. T. Cook, *Education in South Carolina Under Baptist Control* (Greenville, S. C., 1912), flyleaf.

[61] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1859, p. 15.

[62] *Minutes of the South Carolina Conference*, 1835, p. 13.

[63] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1854, p. 306.

[64] Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

College was named for a Methodist Bishop, when its location was called Oxford for the great English university (where John and Charles Wesley studied), and when the streets of the place were named after such Methodist celebrities as Wesley, Asbury, Coke and others, it was well calculated to serve as a bond of union for Georgia Methodists.

Of course, it seemed obvious to all that, other things being equal, young people educated in their own denominational schools would be more loyal to their church than if trained in institutions controlled by the state or other denominations. Probably the knowledge of this fact strengthened the determination of the various denominations to provide schools for their own youth; it also probably heightened unconsciously their feeling of obligation to their young people in the matter of education.

The obverse side of this shield of denominational loyalty was fear of proselyting influences in the schools of other churches, and fear of the godless influences in state universities. The *Methodist Magazine* observed that before the Methodists founded their own schools, their youth were obliged to seek education "in institutions under the influence and control of other denominations," and "as might be expected, many became alienated, or were drawn from us."[65] One of H. G. Leigh's points in favor of the establishment of Randolph-Macon College was "the disastrous effects of educating our young people in colleges of other denominations."[66] In 1832, the year the North Carolina Baptists voted to found Wake Forest Institute, their state convention observed: "We have educated our children under the influence of other denominations; and the consequences have been in too many instances, a departure from the faith once delivered to the

[65] *Methodist Magazine*, XXII (July, 1839), 272.
[66] Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

saints, and from the sentiments which characterize us as a denomination."[67] Abner W. Clopton, an agent for Columbian College, declared that for lack of Baptist schools Baptist families were sending their sons to other denominational colleges and that "numbers of them have returned home under the influence of strong anti-baptist prejudices—confirmed in anti-baptist principles."[68]

The editor of the *Biblical Recorder* tacitly admitted his assumption that proselyting was done in the denominational schools when he observed editorially that more effort was put forth to make Methodists of the young men at Normal College than to make Baptists and Presbyterians of the youth at Wake Forest and Davidson colleges, respectively.[69]

There is evidence that the denominations were afraid of what they considered the godless and demoralizing influences of the state universities in the Old South.[69a] Perhaps the attitude of denominational leaders concerning the education of their youth in state and other church schools was well expressed by Thomas Crocker, an assistant agent for Wake Forest College: "We feel charged with astonishment when we see Baptists sending their sons by Wake Forest to Chapel Hill, or to other colleges under the supervision of other denominations."[70]

TO EXTEND DENOMINATIONAL VIEWS AND INFLUENCE

The churches were quite aware that if their own young people were graduated from their own schools they would go out to hold prominent positions in business, the professions, and politics, and thus would enhance denominational

[67] *Christian Index*, Sept. 8, 1832. [68] *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1833.
[69] *Biblical Recorder*, Jan. 14, 1853.
[69a] See Chapter V.
[70] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 2[illegible]

prestige and aid in extending denominational views and influence. To be sure, this motive was often unconsciously expressed in terms of a desire to do good to society through such a procedure. In 1855 the Georgia Baptists said:

> There is one thing to which your committee deems it not amiss to call your attention. It is the importance of giving to our young brethren, who are neither ministers, nor preparing for the ministry, encouragement to engage in teaching. It must at once strike the mind of everyone as an obvious truth, that if there be any propriety in rearing and sustaining as a denomination, colleges and seminaries, there is a like propriety in securing the services of our brethren in academies. . . . It is by the practical application rather than the attainment of knowledge, that we are to benefit mankind. From the pulpit, the press, and the school room, go out those influences which mold society to morality and refinement; and if we hold and teach the truth, it is surely laudable in us—nay, it is our duty to foster and cultivate gifts for the first, and give encouragement to our brethren to engage properly in the last two of these occupations.[71]

Alexander Means expected the alumni of church schools to advocate the "venerable doctrines" and to "employ their disciplined powers in promoting" the "moral victories" of the church.[72] When the Georgia Baptists were advancing Mercer Institute to college rank, William Crane, of Talbotton, wrote, "By educating our sons, they making intelligent lawyers, physicians, merchants, and planters, . . . we should do more toward the spread of Baptist influence, than by the efforts and preaching of all the ministers at present living in our country combined."[73]

The importance of training leaders for all walks of life in their own schools seemed so important that two denominations—the Methodists and the Episcopalians—seriously considered establishing graduate universities in

[71] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1855, p. 13.
[72] Means, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[73] *Christian Index*, Jan. 11, 1838.

the 1850's to which only professional and graduate students would be admitted. The Methodist General Conference rejected the idea as impractical for the denomination, but the Episcopalians proceeded to found the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee.

The denominations were confident that colleges would directly and indirectly advance the interests of the churches, and apparently they thought that without colleges, the very existence of a denomination was endangered. North Carolina Baptists believed that Wake Forest Institute would "be the lever by which, with divine aid, our denomination may be raised from their inactivity to a stand of exalted usefulness."[74] When the Civil War forced Wake Forest College to close its doors in 1862, the North Carolina Baptist State Convention considered it a great "calamity."[75] Episcopalians expected their school at Valle Crucis, North Carolina, to "tend to advance the general interests of the diocese."[76] The Methodist General Conference of 1824 declared that education was a subject "intimately connected with the vital interests of our church."[77] Sixteen years later the bishops informed the General Conference that a denominational "system of collegiate education" was of "vast importance in connection with the general principles and designs of Methodism."[78] When he accepted the presidency of Randolph-Macon College, Stephen Olin expressed his belief that it was not possible for the church to maintain its ground without schools.[79] George F. Pierce set forth the same

[74] *Minutes of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention*, 1834, p. 16.
[75] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 443.
[76] *Gospel Messenger and Protestant Episcopal Register*, XXIV (Aug., 1847), 153.
[77] *Methodist Magazine*, VII (1824), 276; *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1824, p. 295.
[78] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1840, p. 140.
[79] Irby, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

view in vigorous language: "The Christian community failing to occupy with her own instrumentalities that preliminary ground where opinions are formed and character molded, and over which it is the province of education to preside, must inevitably grow imbecile, effete and disreputable. . . . Bigoted, ignorant, superstitious, such a church would deserve her doom."[80] William C. Crane, of Talbotton, Georgia, rejoiced over the rising interest of the Baptists in "collegiate education" and declared that "it is by this means, and also by the improvement of the ministry, that we hope to gain that operation over any and all other religious denominations which it is our right and duty to maintain."[81]

According to Dr. D. G. Tewksbury, who made a general study of the church colleges throughout the United States, "Colleges were subjected to the special exigencies of a religious campaign for the conquest of a vast continent."[82] Apparently the public was not unaware that the churches had ulterior motives in establishing schools. An "Inquirer" asked: "Is it advisable to appoint ministers mainly either as teachers or professors, in our literary institutions? May not incalculable mischief result from such a policy? By exciting and increasing the suspicion already in existence, that our desire and zeal to establish schools and colleges, flow from interested motives."[83]

[80] Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[81] William C. Crane, "Collegiate Education," *Christian Index*, Jan. 11, 1838. William H. Pope, assistant editor of the *Christian Index*, expressed the same view negatively when he wrote that "the Baptists wield a dwarfish influence in Georgia in comparison of their numerical force," because it was said and generally believed that they had "not energy, liberality and influence enough to build and endow a college!" (*Christian Index*, Nov. 17, 1836).

[82] Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[83] "Inquirer" in the *Southern Christian Advocate*, Jan. 5, 1838.

DENOMINATIONAL RIVALRY

Denominational leaders and governing bodies frequently took note of what other churches were doing in the field of education, and made comments or passed resolutions calculated to spur their own constituency on to similar or greater achievements. When launching their school, the Virginia Baptists warned: "Other denominations are paying the most careful, devoted attention to the improvement of the ministry. . . . Our ministry ought to be as enlightened as the ministry of other denominations, or we shall be left in the background—if we do not cease to exist."[84] In 1835 the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church declared: "We are exceeding glad of the pains beginning to be taken by different denominations to bring education back to sound principles. We may not, we cannot, linger behind all others."[85] The General Conference of 1858 recommended higher educational standards for Methodist ministers for the reason that the laymen "both in town and country" were crying for ministers who could "maintain their ground in the estimation of the public against the influence of rival denominations."[86]

Learning that the Presbyterians were about to project Oglethorpe College, a Georgia Baptist exclaimed, "Shall it be said that six thousand Presbyterians built a college at Midway and that forty thousand Baptists were not able to build at Washington, [Georgia]."[87] In 1841, when Oglethorpe's existence was threatened by debt, the Presbyterians were rallied with the cry that "in view of what sister denominations are doing, and of the deep and last-

[84] *Christian Index*, July 7, 1832.
[85] *Minutes of the South Carolina Conference*, 1835, p. 13.
[86] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1858, p. 550.
[87] *Christian Index*, Feb. 18, 1836.

ing blot which a failure in this enterprise would fix upon" them, they must save the college.[88] Fourteen years later, when Oglethorpe College was waging a campaign for funds, a similar appeal to denominational rivalry was made: "While other denominations in this and the adjoining states have commenced and completed the endowment of their colleges, the Presbyterian Church, though first to start, is sadly in the rear. Cannot, will not the church remember that if Oglethorpe University should languish and die, it will ever remain an indelible stigma upon its fair escutcheon?"[89]

In requesting North Carolina Baptists to remember Wake Forest College in their wills, the *Biblical Recorder* reminded its readers that Benjamin Wofford had left a bequest of $100,000 for a Methodist college in South Carolina.[90] A Georgia Baptist warned his denomination:

> All the choice spots at least are desired by other denominations, and we mistake their spirit if we suppose they will not contend for them at the first opportunity. They are not satisfied with their present possessions and are doing all they can to advance their peculiar interests. Already they have invaded some of our posts and carried off portions of our congregations. When their forces shall be strengthened they will make progress on our own ground. Superior intelligence connected with piety will always procure for them a respectful consideration and the men of the land are welcoming them in their midst.[91]

He declared that mere numbers of members and the extent of territory occupied by his denomination could not make up for "the want of an enlightened ministry."[92]

Apparently denominational rivalry in building col-

[88] Stacy, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
[89] *Oglethorpe University Magazine*, I (April, 1855), 118.
[90] *Biblical Recorder*, July 30, 1852; April 1, 1853.
[91] "Prospects of Georgia Baptists," signed "A Servant of the Church," *Christian Index*, Feb. 1, 1838. [92] *Ibid.*

leges was considered desirable. In 1852 the Georgia Baptist Convention rejoiced to "know that other evangelical Christians are vying with us in the promotion of this great cause [education]."[93] George F. Pierce claimed that education had been "greatly accelerated by church pride . . . and the generous rivalry of the various religious denominations."[94] The Georgia Conference observed that some people regarded the multiplication of schools with apprehension, but that the conference was of the opinion that while the schools were competitors they reacted favorably upon each other and were "great auxiliaries to each other."[95] At an educational convention Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia declared that "sectarianism will keep alive that rivalry and competition in the churches and schools which will forever prevent the green scum of a state of stagnation."[96]

A MEANS OF EVANGELISM

Evangelism in the sense of making converts to the faith figured in the minds of leaders and people alike in the founding of colleges. Before Randolph-Macon College opened its doors, W. M. Wightman hoped that many a youth at the college in the years to come would catch "that spark of hallowed fire from Heaven's high altar which shall kindle his soul into the love of God."[97] The *North Carolina Christian Advocate* declared, "No school or college of the church should be held as faithful to its trust in which revivals do not annually occur."[98] Referring to revivals in Emory College, H. M. Bullock wrote, "In achieving this result the college was realizing a primary

[93] Ragsdale, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
[94] Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
[95] *Minutes of the Georgia Conference*, 1855, p. 31.
[96] Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
[97] *Christian Sentinel*, Dec. 28, 1832.
[98] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, Sept. 15, 1859.

aim of its founders and supporters."[99] Braxton Craven declared that the whole tone of Normal College must be one of piety, and "revivals and conversions a part of the ordinary life."[100]

Some church schools opened with revivals. Religious services continued for several days at the beginning of Cokesbury College in 1787[101] and Mercer University in 1839.[102] At the latter school the services resulted in a sweeping revival.[103]

Observing that revivals were frequent in Methodist schools, the General Conference urged the appointment of teachers of true Christian piety. Apparently it was assumed that such teachers would more readily assist with revivals and the winning of converts. The conference asserted that if urging all pupils to an early consecration of their hearts to God was considered sectarian then it would glory in the fact that Methodist schools were sectarian.[104] Teachers in all church schools usually encouraged revivals, and it was not unusual to suspend all classwork for a week or more when a wave of revivalism swept over a campus.

That the people generally expected the colleges to serve as a means of evangelism is evidenced by the fact that the last Thursday in February was regularly designated by some denominations as a day of special prayer for revivals in colleges. This practice began in 1823, following a report by the agent of the American Education Society that there were revivals in colleges, and it became widespread and was continued for many years.[105] When

[99] Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 143. [100] Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
[101] *Journal of Reverend Francis Asbury*, II (Dec. 6, 1787), 22.
[102] *Christian Index*, Feb. 21, 1839. [103] *Ibid.*
[104] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1858, p. 536.
[105] See *Baptist Magazine*, XV (1835), 59; *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1853, p. 10; *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina*, 1859, p. 21.

a young man was converted in a revival at Wofford College, just after the Civil War, his parents addressed a letter to the faculty, expressing gratitude for the conversion of their son, "We felt that if we could obtain the means of sending him to Wofford, God would convert him."[106] They were pleased that there was such a school as Wofford "to which we can send our sons with almost a certainty that they will be converted," and declared that while the college's educational advantages were good, its chief glory was in its "wonderful success in initiating our sons into the highest science—the consciousness of God reconciled in the soul, and in the training of their spirits for heaven."[107]

Apparently many students expected the church colleges to serve as centers of evangelism. When a revival came at Mercer University in the spring of 1839, President B. M. Sanders wrote that "a number of those who have been the subjects of this excitement" had promised the Lord in advance that when they arrived at the school "they would seek the salvation of their souls. They had while at home seemed to be under the impression that this would be a favorable place to enter upon a religious course."[108]

The churches rejoiced at the news of college revivals and regarded them as proof that God favored church schools. After hearing the report of the revival at Wake Forest Institute in 1834, the North Carolina State Baptist Convention took "courage in the belief that God, in his good providence, is already rewarding the labor of those who have toiled to put the institution into operation."[109] Referring to the revival at Mercer University in 1839, the *Christian Index* affirmed, "These delightful and refresh-

[106] *Minutes of the South Carolina Conference*, 1870, p. 28.
[107] *Ibid.*
[108] *Christian Index*, May 30, 1839.
[109] *Minutes of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention*, 1835, p. 17.

ing scenes are special tokens of God's approbation and a gracious pledge of future success."[110] Of the revivals at Oglethorpe College, a Presbyterian historian wrote: "The crowning glory of the institution was the frequent outpourings of the Spirit and precious seasons of grace. Year after year these seasons returned with almost unvarying constancy, thus in an eminent degree betokening the divine favor."[111] After a great revival at Wesleyan Female College in 1839, the president asked, "Is it not the voice of God in distinct utterance saying to the church, 'Go on, I approve your policy, and will consecrate the labor of your hands'?"[112] The General Conference rejoiced that revivals were common in Methodist schools, and was certain that revivals evinced "the approbation of God upon our labors, . . . sanctifying the very fountains of learning."[113]

SECTIONAL INTERESTS

Sectional interests were probably not as large a factor in founding church colleges in the Old South as is often supposed, but they did play a part in the establishment of some schools. Self-conscious and sensitive to criticism, the ante-bellum South came to regard education as one means of defending, justifying, and maintaining its peculiar institutions and interests. For this reason Southern leaders called upon their section of the country to do more in the field of education.

Southerners began to deplore the South's inferiority in letters. "With what names have we enriched the annals of American literature and science? Where are our Edwards', our Rittenhouses and Franklins, our Dwights and Trumbulls?"[114] It was claimed that the fine libraries

[110] *Christian Index*, Aug. 8, 1839. [111] Stacy, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
[112] *Southern Christian Advocate*, June 28, 1839.
[113] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1854, p. 308; 1858, p. 536.
[114] Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

of the early Virginians were not appreciated; Northern booksellers were permitted to buy them and sell them in the North.[115]

There were pleas that the South was capable of and should do great things in education. Charles Fraser urged that the South not yield all the honor and reputation of American literature to the North without an effort: "Shall we possess a mine and not venture to explore it, because our neighbors, more enterprising than ourselves, supply us with the treasures of their own?"[116] The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, observed that "hitherto the South has been unjust to itself with regard to its literature. We have invited the world to believe that we are incapable of sustaining literary institutions." They saw "the necessity of seeking to become less dependent upon others for the lights of knowledge, and the aids of virtue, as found in the department of education."[117] The Presbyterians argued:

> We would encourage no sectional prejudices, [but] in North Carolina we have been too much accustomed to look abroad, (beyond our own state), for almost everything valuable both in church and state. Especially has this been the case in reference to our teachers, professors and preachers; and, with this feeling of dependence upon others, overlooking and undervaluing our own resources and talent, we have fallen insensibly into a most helpless and humiliating condition. . . . We have the resources, but they are not developed; we have the talent, but it is not encouraged and patronized. . . . If we expect a supply of ministers, at all commensurate with the necessities of our state—not to say of our country and the world—we must "rear them at home."[118]

[115] *Christian Monitor*, II (May 10, 1817), 274.
[116] Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[117] "Pastoral Address" in the *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1846, p. 114.
[118] *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina*, 1845, pp. 26-27.

The *Christian Magazine of the South* asked for support of Erskine College, and pointed out that while Southerners were able to give, they did not measure up to the generosity of the North toward education where the donation of large sums for the endowment of colleges was "a matter of ordinary occurrence."[119]

The sending of Southern youths and money to the North was deplored. As early as 1822 it was claimed that "during the last twenty years about $300,000 a year has been carried from Virginia for purposes of education."[120] After diligent inquiry Charles Fraser was certain that the amount of money spent by Charlestonians in Northern seminaries "would be sufficient to support a collegiate establishment" in Charleston.[121] In 1849 "Chapman" argued in the *Biblical Recorder* that the money being spent in the North annually for medical training would support an able medical faculty at Wake Forest College.[122]

Schools appealed for patronage on the ground that they were prepared to give as good training as that offered by Northern institutions. When William Hooper, celebrated North Carolina Baptist educational leader and formerly professor at the University of North Carolina, was engaged to teach in Furman Theological Institution in 1838, the *Christian Index* expressed the hope that the school would "hold out such advantages and inducements to young brethren . . . as to supersede the necessity of going North for study."[123] Richard Furman, II, urged South Carolina Baptists to support Wake Forest College on the ground that it was "a Southern" as well as a Baptist institution.[124] The Washington (Georgia) Female Sem-

[119] *Christian Magazine of the South*, V (1847), 29.
[120] *Evangelical and Literary Magazine*, V (1822), 89.
[121] Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.
[122] "Chapman," *Biblical Recorder*, Sept. 29, 1849.
[123] *Christian Index*, Dec. 6, 1838.
[124] *Biblical Recorder*, April 19, 1845.

inary advertised that its "course of instruction" was "as extensive as in the most approved Northern Seminaries" and that "to parents wishing to educate their daughters thoroughly and at home this institution offers the best possible advantages."[125]

Southern schools, it was believed, would safeguard the Southern attitude toward slavery in the minds of Southern youth. As early as 1828 the physical plant of the College of Charleston was enlarged with the hope of attracting South Carolina students and keeping them away from Northern schools, where their affections would be "alienated from the institutions of their native state."[126] William H. Stiles of Georgia claimed that when Southern youths went North to school they were indoctrinated with teachings contrary to Southern institutions, and he declared that abolition was preached from the pulpits on Sunday, that the very atmosphere of Northern schools was anti-slavery, and that the youth who went there must inhale abolition with every breath.[127] Alexander Means claimed that Southern youths in Northern schools had "latitudinarian heresies" planted in their minds, and were compelled to endure "heartless jibes and significant allusions in regard to 'Southern institutions' and 'Southern sensitiveness.' "[128]

Furman University was established partly as a result of sectional interests. South Carolina Baptists, led by James C. Furman, were strongly opposed to abolition sentiment in Northern schools and believed that they must build their own college so that their young people would not have to go North for academic training.[129]

[125] *Christian Index*, April 21, 1839. [126] Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.
[127] William H. Stiles, "Southern Education for Southern Youth," *Commencement Address at Cherokee Baptist College*, July 14, 1858 (pamphlet, 1858), pp. 4-5. [128] Means, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
[129] Furman was a delegate to the last Triennial Convention in 1844 where abolition sentiment split the Baptists into northern and southern

STRENGTH OF THE DENOMINATIONS

Another factor in the church college building era prior to the Civil War was the growing strength of the popular denominations. As the nation grew in population and economic wealth, and as life became more settled and more secure, the churches achieved that status of membership, wealth, influence, and incentive necessary for the establishment and maintenance of colleges.

Four factors were involved in the "strength" of a denomination to project colleges: first, a conviction among leaders as to the importance of education; second, a sufficiently large membership; third, denominational organization; and fourth, wealth. Where there was a marked deficiency in one or more of these factors the prospects for the founding of colleges were not good. For example, the Episcopalians believed in education, but for lack of wealth, or the willingness to give, and for lack of numbers to give their schools sufficient patronage, they were unable to establish colleges in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia before the Civil War. On the other hand, the Presbyterians, as the most numerous and most influential denomination in Virginia at the close of the Revolution, had all the requirements, and succeeded in founding Liberty Hall and Hampden-Sidney colleges at once, and, later, colleges in the other states of the Old South. By 1790 the Baptists had twenty thousand members in Virginia alone,[130] and they numbered eleven thousand in the two Carolinas in 1791.[131] But among the Baptists there was no widespread conviction as to the importance

branches. In the same year he was elected senior professor in Furman Theological Institution, and accepted the position with the aim of persuading the Baptists of the state to raise it to college rank. (See Cook, *The Life Work of James Clement Furman*, pp. 105, 106.)

[130] David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America . . .* (New York, 1850), p. 641.

[131] M. L. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

of education, little wealth, and no effective denominational organization.[132] Consequently, the move for a college among the Virginia Baptists in 1788 failed. The Methodists had organization and numbers,[133] but lacked wealth and incentive. Therefore, Methodism's Cokesbury College, started in 1787, was short-lived. The Methodists and Baptists did not build colleges until there came the development and proper co-ordination of the four factors necessary for success. According to A. W. Mangum, "More than the first quarter of this century passed before any church in the state had become sufficiently strong to found and furnish and man and sustain even a fourth-rate denominational college."[134]

After 1790 the popular denominations rapidly gained strength. Sweeping revivals increased church membership. In the forty years between 1796 and 1836 Methodist membership in the four states of the Old South jumped from 27,325 to 136,734.[135] In twenty-seven years, from 1807 to 1834, the Concord Presbytery increased from 414 members to 4,442. Well-to-do people were brought into the membership of all the popular churches, interest in education grew, and ecclesiastical organization was effected. Thus the strength of the denominations was an important factor in college building.[136]

[132] Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 315; Gewehr, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[133] While they had approximately 15,000 in 1784, when the church was organized, by 1808 they had 151,995 members in America (*Minutes of the Methodist Conferences Annually Held in America*, 1773-1813, I, 46, 75, 425).

[134] "Church and State in Their Relation to Education in North Carolina," *Tobacco Plant*, Oct. 26, 1887.

[135] *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences Annually Held in America*, 1773-1813, I, 177; 1829-1839, II, 439, 441, 444, 525.

[136] Another important motive in the establishment of church colleges in the Old South—the desire to offset or rival the influence of the four state universities—will be discussed in Chapter V.

CHAPTER III

Intellectual and Social Life

EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

THE CURRICULA listed in the catalogues and the daily schedules of students indicate that efforts were made to get the young men to work hard. At Davidson College "each class is required to attend three recitations a day, viz., one at sunrise, one at eleven o'clock a.m. and one at four o'clock p.m."[1] Saturday afternoon was the only vacant period in the week at Wake Forest College, since the students gave full days to recitation and study, and Friday night and Saturday forenoon to the work of the literary societies.[2]

But the church colleges did not generally maintain high academic standards. Many, if not most, of these institutions permitted students to enter at any time during the scholastic year. Enoch Faw and other students enjoyed extended absences from Normal College, and apparently were not required to do extra work to make up for the time lost.

Trustees, faculties, and even denominational governing bodies were often discussing, or resolving to adopt, higher academic standards. The Methodists talked of laying the foundations of Randolph-Macon College with care in order that it might do a grade of work commensurate with university standards.[3] The Wofford College faculty, "feeling the importance of maintaining a high grade of scholarship from the beginning, were compelled

[1] *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina*, 1851, p. 14.
[2] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 549.
[3] *Methodist Magazine*, IX (1826), 155; Irby, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 44, 49.

to decline receiving several applicants whose preparation was not sufficient to warrant their matriculation."[4] When J. R. Thomas became president of Emory College in 1856, it was hoped that under his leadership the institution would "rank with any of our southern colleges in discipline, morality and scholarship."[5] The Georgia Baptist Convention endorsed the plan of the trustees and faculty of Mercer University "to regard the scholarship rather than the number of their graduates as of greatest importance."[6] Five years later the same body was talking of "elevating" the literary standards of the college, specifically suggesting that admission requirements for freshmen be raised. The frequent talk about raising academic standards shows that at best the standards were not high.

LIBRARIES

Libraries and facilities for teaching the sciences in the church colleges were meager. A speaker at Washington College in 1843 declared that if all American college libraries were gathered into one "it would not be so complete as the library of some single institution in Europe which might be mentioned."[7] College libraries were usually in charge of a professor and were open only one or two hours a week; as a result, they were not important factors in college work.

It was not unusual for the student literary societies to own more books than the college library. In 1860 the Columbian and Hesperian Literary societies of Trinity College contained 2,200 volumes each, while the college

[4] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Wofford College, July 15, 1856, p. 12.

[5] *Southern Christian Advocate*, Jan. 3, 1856.

[6] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1852, p. 8.

[7] Archibald Alexander, *Address Before the Alumni Association of Washington College, Virginia, at Commencement*, June 29, 1843 (pamphlet), p. 19.

library consisted of only 650 books![8] Randolph-Macon's college library was "comparatively small," but "any deficiency is compensated by the extensive libraries of the two literary societies, to each of which every student has access."[9]

Sometimes books and scientific materials were publicly solicited. The trustees of Wake Forest Institute made such an appeal through the church paper in 1834. The Greensboro College catalogue of 1858 carried this notice: "The trustees and faculty will highly appreciate any contribution of books, minerals, fossils, etc., to the college library or cabinet."

Some leaders deplored the small libraries and the inadequate equipment for teaching the sciences. Astounded that Emory and Henry College had a library of only six hundred volumes, William Capers, editor of the *Southern Christian Advocate* and later bishop, was stirred to say:

> This positively will not do. . . . A college with a library of "six hundred volumes!" Why it is a libel on a *college library*. . . . Better build cabins for recitation rooms, and cabins for dormitories, and a good large log cabin for a well chosen library of 5,000 volumes worth $15,000 to $20,000, and another for philosophical apparatus worth $10,000, and another inclosing a tower of brick for an observatory, better this for a college, than the most splendid edifice of brick or stone, without books.[10]

The president of Randolph-Macon College in 1841 complained that only $4,000 had been appropriated for the college library in nine years. The General Conference of 1858 noted that "many of our institutions are quite deficient" in libraries and scientific apparatuses and cabinets.[11]

[8] *Catalogue of Trinity College*, 1860, p. 22.
[9] *Catalogue of Randolph-Macon College*, 1856, p. 22.
[10] *Southern Christian Advocate*, Jan. 10, 1840.
[11] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1858, p. 534.

In the 1850's the trustees of Mercer University made annual appropriations for the library, but even so, in 1859 the school still had only five thousand volumes, together with three thousand in the literary society libraries.

CURRICULUM

The curricula in the various church colleges were heavily weighted toward the ancient languages and mathematics. The attitude of Robert Ryland, first head of the school that became Richmond College, was probably typical: "I laid down the principle that Latin, Greek, mathematics, and an acquaintance with our own language were the chief elements of a solid education."[12]

The curricula were predominantly classical and weak in the sciences. With few or no laboratories and little or no apparatus or materials these schools were in no position to teach the sciences adequately. The historian of Wake Forest College has properly characterized the situation: "The Board of Trustees from the very first were awake to the importance of scientific instruction and sought to make provision for it, but were at a loss what to do."[13]

Throughout the four years, in all colleges for men, much emphasis was placed upon English composition and declamation. There was little teaching of the Bible or other religious subjects in a formal way. Notwithstanding the fact that the South depended upon farming, and that many of the colleges began as manual labor schools with farms of several hundred acres each, practically no scientific teaching of agriculture was done in the church colleges. From 1830 to the Civil War the course of study changed little in the colleges.

[12] Ryland, *op. cit.*, p. 12. A thorough presentation of the curriculum in the church colleges is beyond the scope of this study. In Appendix I the reader will find a few typical courses of study showing what was emphasized most in higher education in the Old South.

[13] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

AIMS AND AMBITIONS OF STUDENTS

Although the churches in building colleges aspired to put higher education within reach of the poor and those of modest economic standing, in the main the sons of the more fortunate and aspiring classes went to college.[14] A. W. Mangum's father, an ambitious man, urged him to obtain an education, "be the labor and privation what it might."[15] The schools inspired the young men to believe that they would be leaders. A student later said of Samuel Wait, principal of Wake Forest Institute: "He taught us to think a great deal of ourselves, to set our mark high, to study hard. . . . He encouraged us to believe that we would eventually fill high offices and make great men."[16] One of W. T. Brooks' motives in keeping a diary while in college was the conviction that as an educated man his life would be of more than average significance.[17] As a senior in college Enoch Faw was determined to be successful in life: "Shall I eventually be an ordinary man? Let Time and Labor answer loudly and emphatically, 'No! No!!' 'The victory is not to the strong, but to the vigilant.' '*Labor omnia vincit.*'"[18] "The Student" declared that young men in college were ambitious, else they would not study so hard.[19]

Closely allied to ambition was the desire to be of service. Many young men were fired with this ideal. Enoch Faw did not enter the ministry, but he wrote in his diary that he frequently thought of going into that profession because both sinners and Christians needed to have the gospel preached to them. A. W. Mangum's diary reveals that he had a strong desire to be of service to his fellow-

[14] See Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. vii.
[15] Mangum, Diary, April 1, 1852.
[16] *Bulletin of Wake Forest College* (Oct., 1925), p. 24.
[17] Brooks, Diary, 1834-1839, prefatory note.
[18] Faw, Diary, Oct. 29, 1854.
[19] *Randolph-Macon Magazine*, April, 1852, p. 99.

men. Ministerial students were so much in earnest about rendering service that they would not remain in college long enough to finish their studies. Some denominational organizations giving financial aid to such students demanded written promises from the young men to pay back the money expended on their education if they left school before completing "the whole course of study required."[20]

MENTAL CALIBER OF STUDENTS AND THEIR INTEREST IN STUDY

Student diaries are fairly accurate indices of the mental caliber of their authors. W. T. Brooks, who kept a diary, was serious-minded but of only average intelligence. By diligent application to his studies he graduated in the first class of Wake Forest College in 1839. He spent the rest of his life at Wake Forest, serving as assistant professor of ancient languages from 1846 to 1858 and as chairman of the board of trustees for a period following the Civil War. Though not a brilliant nor an outstanding leader, he was a good and useful man.

A. W. Mangum, of the class of 1854 in Randolph-Macon College, was a student of more than average ability, whose diary is written in good prose. Apparently he was not a forceful leader among his classmates. He became a minister in the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and served as a chaplain in the Confederate Army. In 1875, while serving as pastor of the Edenton Street Methodist Church at Raleigh, North Carolina, he accepted the chair of moral philosophy at the University of North Carolina, continuing in that position until his death in 1898.

Enoch Faw was a brilliant student, graduating in 1856 with highest honors. His college literary society regarded

[20] *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia*, 1837, p. 19; Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

him as its "smartest man" and elected him as corresponding secretary, a position of honor and leadership. His influence over his fellow students is seen in the fact that the promoter of a proposed writing school on the campus offered to instruct Faw gratis, if he were permitted to place Faw's name at the head of the published list of those taking the course. After graduation Faw studied law at the University of Virginia, and became a prominent citizen in Marietta, Georgia, where he resided until his death in 1902.

The diary of G. L. P. Wren of the class of 1859 at Emory College "reveals a surprising range and strength of interests" and indicates that his intelligence was above the average.[21] Wren was a voracious reader. Soon after his graduation he moved to the vicinity of Minden, Louisiana, where, until his death about 1900, he was a leader, particularly in the field of education.

A. W. Mangum carefully estimated the abilities and interests of his twenty-nine junior classmates in the summer of 1852, and referred to the mental capacity or studiousness of all except five. Fifteen had good minds and applied themselves to their studies. Concerning them he used such terms as the following: "good mind," "strong mind," "extra bright," "one of the best scholars," "good student," "works hard," "thoughtful." One was "dull, but studious." Concerning those who did not measure up he used such terms as "irregular student," "talent, but does not study," "good mind, but would not study," "genius, but not studious," "smart, but dissolute." Two were witty, two were interested in politics, and two were forward at speaking.[22]

Beneficiaries of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention in Wake Forest College were not generally out-

[21] Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
[22] Mangum, Diary, July 15 and 23 and Aug. 1, 1852.

standing in ability. Of those who applied for help, "only an occasional student gave promise of developing into an able minister."[23] Only one of the first four who entered in 1834 graduated. One made grades of thirty and thirty-five, and became involved in a fight with a fellow student. Only eleven of the first thirty-six beneficiaries received their degrees. On the other hand, of the 117 young men who won degrees at Wake Forest College prior to 1862, 41, or 35 per cent, entered the ministry. Judging by the records, the ministerial students who paid their own way in this college were better students than were beneficiaries of the convention. Ten years after Mercer Institute was raised to college rank the Georgia Baptist Convention claimed that all of her graduates were in some useful and honorable employment and that there was not "a loafer or a vagabond among her alumni."[24]

LITERARY SOCIETIES

It would be difficult to overestimate the prominence and influence of literary societies in the colleges of the Old South. Literary societies were organizations of, by, and for students. They constituted the one student activity during the week which was not supervised in detail by the faculty. Professors were often honorary members, but they did not plan the programs, direct the affairs, or dominate the meetings of literary societies. The fact that students were free to exercise their own initiative in these organizations may account in part for their popularity in the college life of other days. So far as is known, every college had two literary societies, and they were usually formed soon after the institution opened its doors to students.

Membership in a literary society was considered an

[23] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 610.
[24] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1849, p. 15.

honor, and probably the distinction was more highly coveted than is identification with a Greek letter social fraternity today. The diaries of Brooks, Mangum, and Faw reveal that these young men were proud of their literary society membership and that they took seriously their responsibilities in their organizations. All three refer frequently to the societies and their activities.

Not only did students consider literary society membership an honor for themselves, but they also felt that others should similarly regard the organizations, and therefore elected many persons of prominence honorary members. "A reading of the minutes of the societies at Wake Forest College would suggest that about all who were eligible were elected" to honorary membership; a score or more were so recognized by each society every year.[25] Statesmen, like Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, were so honored, and they graciously accepted.

Literary societies, like most student activities today, were not without expense; there were initiation fees and quarterly dues. Initiation fees ranged from two to ten dollars, and quarterly dues were fifty cents to three dollars.[26] It was hoped that honorary members would contribute, and some of them did. Money was needed, because many literary societies erected their halls at their own expense, and all of them, as we have noted, had their own libraries. In 1847, nine years after the founding of Davidson College, its two literary society libraries contained twelve thousand volumes.[27] No large proportion of the books were bought with fees. In the main the societies raised money for the purchase of books by subscription, $200 to $300 often being raised for books in this manner, and occasionally $500 to $700.[28] In addition,

[25] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 499. [26] *Ibid.*, p. 501.
[27] *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina*, 1847, p. 28.
[28] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 525.

students themselves gave books and solicited volumes from friends during vacation. The libraries were usually open once a week; but since the librarian was a student, his fellow members could freely borrow the keys and consult books at any time. Also, books were generously lent to faculty members and outsiders.

Oftentimes the rivalry between the two literary societies in a college for members was intense. W. T. Brooks noted a serious quarrel between himself and one James W. Hoskins over what he considered ungentlemanly tactics on the part of Hoskins in the competition for literary society members.[29] The Euzelian Society at Wake Forest was so desirous of having L. H. Shuck, son of a missionary in China, as a member that it promised to pay his tuition if he would join. He became a member and the society was faithful to its pledge.[30] This practice was also followed in other institutions.

Literary society meetings were usually held toward the end of the week—Friday night and Saturday morning; some met on Saturday night and had difficulties with the faculty because they stayed in session until after midnight and thus broke the Sabbath. Attendance was expected, if not compulsory. Even so, it was difficult to get large numbers out to meetings. In 1849 a society at Wake Forest ruled that one third of the members should constitute a quorum. Some enjoyed the meetings, but others found them dull. Some members fell asleep and were fined ten to twenty-five cents. One youth interviewed by his fellows as to why he absented himself from meetings, explained that he would rather do hard labor than sit through their sessions. But without doubt the majority liked the literary societies. Enoch Faw thought so much

[29] Brooks, Diary, Aug. 5 and 6, 1836.
[30] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

of his literary society that he was determined to be its "first and foremost" member, and he found the meetings "interesting and profitable," "splendid fun," and "fine."

Some attention was given to writing, dissertations, and declamations in the literary societies, but always the main feature was debating. Some topics were light and others serious, the young men debating almost every subject imaginable: historical, scientific, social, moral, religious; marriage, manners, philosophy, the education of women, general education, proper amusements, the state constitution, national issues like the admission of Texas and the Mexican war, and slavery and secession. That the students were alert to the trends of the times is indicated by the following topics actually debated: "Is war under any circumstances justifiable? Is slavery recognized by the law of God, and should it be tolerated by the laws of men? Was the nullification of South Carolina justifiable? Are the morals of youth likely to be corrupted by the study of ancient literature and mythology? Are there any circumstances that would justify a man in not marrying a lady after engagement, save unfaithfulness on her part? These debates were often stormy and sometimes ended in fights. Three fights occurred in the Few Society at Emory College between 1845 and 1850, and in 1846 the president of the society was compelled to resign because he did not prevent a fight.[31]

At commencement the two literary societies in each college usually held a joint meeting to hear an address by a man of some prominence. The speech was often published in pamphlet form.

Throughout their four years in college young men were given much practice in public speaking. "Exhibitions" were held at various times during the year when

[31] Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

tudents declaimed or delivered original orations. The evening chapel hour was often devoted to such exercises. Enoch Faw, for example, delivered his senior oration before a "large crowd of boys, some ladies, and the faculty" on the night of April 3, 1856.[32] A few weeks later a "whole set of compositions" was read publicly. In 1858 he seniors at Wofford College delivered speeches on an "exhibition occasion" using among other topics the following: Mutability and Glory of Literature; A Corrupt Literature; The Progress of Intellect; Footprints of Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Eight; Ancient and Modern Patriotism Contrasted; No Cross, No Crown; Imagination; The Printing Press; Literary Attractions of the Bible; Trifles n Life; and Aggressive Tendency of Christianity.[33]

FACULTY AND STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD SECTIONALISM AND SLAVERY

The churches and their educational institutions reflected the attitude of the South generally on the question of slavery. As early as 1822 South Carolina Baptists aligned themselves on the side of slavery.[34] In 1844 the Baptist and Methodist denominations split into Northern and Southern branches over this issue, and the Presbyterians did likewise at the time of the Civil War.

The colleges had stalwart defenders of the Southern point of view on slavery, notably Thomas R. Dew, William A. Smith, James Clement Furman, and A. B. Longstreet, presidents of William and Mary, Randolph-Macon, Furman, and Emory colleges, respectively. Dew sought to prove that every form of emancipation was bad, that

[32] Faw, Diary, April 3, 1856.

[33] Newspaper clipping, dated Dec. 15, 1858, pasted in the *Catalogue Wofford College*, 1859.

[34] See Richard Furman, "Exposition of the Position of the Baptists elative to the Colored Population of the United States, 1822," *Letter to e Governor of South Carolina.*

historically slavery had been an asset instead of a curs and that all except relatively few in society would b either wage slaves or bond slaves.[35] In 1856 Smith pub lished a book entitled *The Philosophy of Slavery*, bein the substance of his lectures in his classes on moral philo ophy. He sought to refute Thomas Jefferson's idea freedom and to defend slavery as right per se.[36] Furma who was a delegate to the Triennial Convention in 184 helped to bring about the split in the Baptist denominatio over slavery. In 1860 Furman, a member, offered th prayer at the South Carolina Secession Convention. H outspoken attitude on the question of slavery, along wit that of James P. Boyce, teacher of theology in Furma University, perhaps helped attendance at Furman Un versity between 1850 and 1860.[37]

Longstreet figured prominently in the division of th Methodist Church in 1844. As the controversy over slav ery progressed, he became more and more angry, writin letters, pamphlets, and books defending the South, South ern Methodists, and slavery. Longstreet was aided Emory by W. J. Sasnett, professor of English literatur and of the mental and moral sciences, who defende slavery in his classes.

The Episcopal Institute at Montpelier, Georgia, a academy which aspired to become a college but did no was supported by "a stock farm cultivated by a slave forc owned by the Institute." The students did no manua labor, but were taken out "during leisure moments" to se everything and receive training "in the best mode of per forming their duties as the owners of slaves and the mas ters of human beings for whose souls they must give a

[35] Thomas R. Dew, *An Essay on Slavery* (pamphlet, 1849), pp. 3 53, 77, 83, 89, *passim*.

[36] William A. Smith, *The Philosophy of Slavery* (Nashville, Tenn 1856), p. 28, and *passim*.

[37] M. L. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

account." The steward of the Institute "devoted a good deal of attention to the instruction of the Negroes on Sundays, besides the daily exercises which are arranged for their benefit at family prayers and other times." "The pupils of the female department" of the Institute supported "a little African Girl during her education at the Cape Palmas Mission."[38]

Apparently the students followed their elders in the defense of slavery as an institution. G. W. Paschal, who examined the records of literary society debates at Wake Forest College on the question of slavery, found that "always, Paley or Wayland to the contrary notwithstanding," the students "decided that slavery was not morally wrong."[39]

The attitude of the colleges toward slavery is further revealed by the fact that the trustees of Wake Forest College voted to bar the use of Francis Wayland's book entitled *The Elements of Moral Science*. No reason for the action of the trustees was given, but certainly they objected to Wayland's views on slavery. Wayland opposed slavery on scriptural grounds and believed that slavery violated the personal liberty of a man as a physical, intellectual, and moral being.[40] But his book was not barred in other Southern colleges. Catalogues reveal that it was in use at Normal, Hampden-Sidney, Randolph-Macon, and the University of North Carolina. Also, without explanation by the faculty or the trustees, Wayland's book was again listed in the course of study at Wake Forest in the catalogue for 1859-1860!

[38] *Journal of the Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Georgia, 1842*, pp. 15-22.

[39] Paschal, *op. cit.*, pp. 547, 553.

[40] See MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Wake Forest College, June 11, 1856, p. 109; Francis Wayland, *The Elements of Moral Science* (Boston, 1853), pp. 206 f.

Professors and students desired to see the South do its share in the field of learning and literature. Major D. H. Hill of Davidson College wrote a textbook on algebra which exhibited "in the stating of its problems strong sectional feeling."[41] Students launched a magazine at Randolph-Macon College and appealed for support on the ground that it would promote an independent Southern literature: "The time is at hand for us to throw off our dependence upon the North, and establish an *independent* Southern literature."[42] The Wake Forest literary societies argued that the South should patronize its own institutions rather than those of the North, and that the South should establish a great Southern university.

While professors and students were in favor of Southern institutions and Southern literary independence, they were not prejudiced against Northern men teaching in Southern colleges at the time. The public in North Carolina objected to the Northern birth and training of John B. White, President of Wake Forest from 1848 to 1853, and compelled his resignation. But the students, the faculty, and some of the trustees were not opposed to White.[43]

The sentiment against secession among professors and students was notable. James P. Boyce, professor of theology in Furman University, vigorously defended slavery, but opposed secession. William Hooper, a prominent North Carolina Baptist educator, opposed secession to the last. As principal of the Chowan Baptist Female Institute when the Civil War began, he refused to permit the girls to hoist the Confederate flag over the Institute building. He resigned rather than change his view.[44] President W.

[41] Shaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.
[42] *Randolph-Macon Magazine*, I, (Dec., 1851), 299-300.
[43] Paschal, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124, 381, 421-424.
[44] M. L. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

M. Wingate of Wake Forest condemned hatred toward the North. In 1850 the Phi Gamma Literary Society at Emory College argued against secession.[45]

INTEREST IN THINGS MILITARY

There was a liking for things military in the South, and the interest increased as the Civil War drew near. The establishment of the Virginia Military Institute in 1839 and the Military Academy of South Carolina in 1842 was indicative of the spirit in the land. Principal Samuel Wait organized the boys at Wake Forest Institute into a military company. The students at Washington College were members of a military company under one Captain Stuart. In 1853 the students at Davidson College formed themselves into a military company with the hearty approval of the faculty. In 1856 the trustees of Randolph-Macon College requested the legislature to establish a school of military tactics in connection with the college, but nothing came of it.

COMMENCEMENTS

Commencements were important social occasions with large crowds and programs which lasted several days. Trustees and denominational governing bodies often urged, or specially invited, persons of distinction to attend commencements.[46] President R. H. Morrison noted a large crowd of "the intelligent and rich and influential members of society" from both North Carolina and South Carolina at Davidson's first commencement in 1838. It was claimed that two thousand people attended commencement at Normal College in 1854.[47]

[45] Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[46] See MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Wofford College, July 15, 1856, p. 16; *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina*, 1847, p. 29; *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1848, p. 40.

[47] *Richmond Christian Advocate*, Aug. 24, 1854.

In 1842 commencement at Randolph-Macon began on Sunday with a special sermon; the trustees met on Tuesday; and on Wednesday and Thursday the program reached its climax with student orations and the awarding of diplomas. Seniors had been excused from all classes four weeks before in order to write, commit to memory, and practice their orations before the English teacher. Friends and alumni from Virginia and the Carolinas began filling up the boardinghouses on Tuesday. Parties came from South Carolina in coaches drawn by four horses with outside riders. Wednesday morning was given to hearing the alumni oration, the annual oration before the literary societies, and the literary oration. Two young men from each literary society delivered orations in the afternoon, and the evening was devoted to the meetings of the literary societies. Thursday was pre-eminently the day for the graduating class, each young man delivering the oration on which he had labored a month. After the speeches the president awarded the diplomas with the Latin words, *Accepe hoc diploma.*[48]

The commencement party, counterpart of the commencement ball in state universities, was an important event in the church colleges. The first at Wake Forest was held in 1843, and thereafter became an annual event. In 1846 the governor of the state and his wife were attendants. In the 1850's invitations to commencement parties were beautifully printed on fine paper, with the names of many managers and assistant managers appended.

OCCUPATIONS OF GRADUATES

The great majority of the graduates of church colleges before the Civil War entered the ministry, law, teaching, medicine, agriculture, and merchandising. Of the 1,087

[48] Irby, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-98.

students who registered at Wake Forest College before 1862, about one hundred became ministers, the same number became physicians, seventy-one entered law, and a majority of the remainder became teachers, farmers, and merchants.[49]

WRITINGS OF PROFESSORS AND GRADUATES

Discussion of life in the colleges would not be complete without some reference to the writings of professors and graduates. Obviously, the data given here are not complete; it would require extensive research to fill in the gaps. But perhaps the information supplied is sufficient to indicate that a few among the group were writers.

Major D. H. Hill, later lieutenant general, professor of mathematics in Davidson College (1854-1859), was the author of *Elements of Algebra*, in which he gave special attention to the theory of equations. The book was regarded highly by his contemporaries. General T. J. Jackson remarked that it was "superior to any other book" in its field.[50] Major Hill also published volumes on *The Sermon on the Mount* and *The Crucifixion of Christ*. From 1866 to 1870 he edited a literary magazine entitled *The Land We Love*.[51]

Many graduates of Davidson College achieved recognition for their literary productions. The Reverend William Flinn, of the class of 1840, contributed articles to the *Southern Presbyterian Review* and the newspapers. The Reverend Samuel Alexander, a North Carolina preacher, of the class of 1848, published *The Stone Kingdom* and

[49] Paschal, *op. cit.*, pp. 605, 632, 639. In Appendix II will be found three tables in which are listed the occupations of men who attended Randolph-Macon and Davidson colleges. Of necessity, duplications appear in some of the statistics, since alumni changed professions, or, in some instances, followed two, such as the ministry and teaching.

[50] Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[51] *Semi-Centennial Catalogue of Davidson College* (1891), p. 15.

The Covenant and Its Seals. The Reverend Jethro Rumple, of the class of 1850, a pastor at Salisbury, North Carolina, from 1860 to 1891, was the author of *History of Rowan County, North Carolina* and *Historic Sketches of Presbyterianism in North Carolina.* As an associate editor Rumple wrote nearly a score of articles in a *Presbyterian Encyclopedia,* published in 1884. The Reverend John Still Harris, of the class of 1852 and pastor at Bethesda, South Carolina, wrote *The Nature and Duties of the Office of Ruling Elder, A Memorial Sermon on the Death of Reverend P. E. Bishop,* and *Monthly Letters,* addressed to soldiers during the Civil War.[52] John Martin P. Otts, of the class of 1859 and a minister in Union County, South Carolina, was the author of "a large number of religious books."[53] The Reverend Robert Lathan, of the class of 1855 in Erskine College, published the *History of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South.*[54]

Sidney Lanier, the famous Southern poet, was a graduate of Oglethorpe College. He entered college in 1856, when he was only fourteen years of age, graduated with distinction, and held a tutorship in his alma mater before entering the Confederate Army in April, 1861. To list his works here would be superfluous.[55] James Stacy, of the class of 1849 in Oglethorpe College, wrote *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Georgia.*

Among Baptist college professors, William Hooper, Adiel Sherwood, and President J. L. Dagg of Mercer University did considerable writing. William Hooper perhaps wrote enough "for periodicals to give him a place in Southern Literature."[56] Hooper's sermon at Chapel

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 34, 36.
[53] Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
[54] Meriwether, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
[55] See *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (13th ed., 1926), XVI, 181.
[56] William Gilmore, *The Growth of One Hundred Years of North Carolina Baptists, 1830-1930* (Raleigh, 1930), p. 181.

Hill, North Carolina, in 1831 on *The Force of Habit* was often published, the last time as late as 1890, and it was read by President David L. Swain of the University of North Carolina to his graduating classes year after year."[57] Other writings by William Hooper were: "Fifty Years Since," an alumni address at the University of North Carolina commencement, June 17, 1859; "On the Deceitfulness of Wickedness of the Heart," a sermon in the *Southern Preacher* (1824); "On the Way to Acceptance as Pronounced in the Gospel," a sermon in the *Southern Preacher* (1824); "Sacredness of Human Life," a commencement address at Wake Forest College in 1857; "On Some Defects of the Schools"; and articles in the *Biblical Recorder* "on a great variety of subjects and in great number."[58]

Adiel Sherwood, a professor in Columbian College and in Mercer University, wrote several books and contributed many articles to Baptist and other papers. His most famous volume, *Georgia Gazetteer,* went through four editions, the last appearing in 1860. In 1858 he published in two volumes, *Notes on the New Testament,* which also went through several editions. Sherwood's daughter credits him with three books and six pamphlets, and lists twenty-eight different papers and periodicals to which he contributed. Some of the more important papers and periodicals for which he wrote were: the *Baptist Magazine,* the *Columbian Star,* the *Christian Review,* the *Christian Index,* the *New York Recorder,* the *Biblical Recorder,* the Saint Louis *Republican,* the *Religious Herald,* and the *Southern Baptist Preacher.* He edited the *Indian Advocate,* Louisville, Kentucky, in 1846-1847.[59]

J. L. Dagg, President of Mercer University from

[57] Paschal, *op. cit.,* p. 412.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] Sherwood, *op. cit., passim.*

1844 to 1854, wrote three books, *The Manual of Theology*, *The Elements of Moral Science*, and *The Evidence of Christianity*. His *The Manual of Theology* is still available and is used in a limited sphere.[60]

James Dunn Hufham, of the class of 1856 at Wake Forest College, edited the *Biblical Recorder* from 1861 to 1867. His article on the history of the North Carolina Baptists was published in the *Minutes of the Union Baptist Association for 1860*. Hufham was one of the chief promoters of, and the main contributor to, the *North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers*, which were published at Henderson, North Carolina, from 1896 to 1899, in three volumes. He gathered much Baptist historical material, which was given to the Wake Forest College Library on his death.[61]

Joseph E. Willet, of the class of 1846 at Mercer University, taught chemistry and natural philosophy in his alma mater from 1847 to 1893, and was the author of a prize volume, *Wonders of Insect Life*.[62] Richard Malcolm Johnston, of the class of 1841 at Mercer, taught several years at the University of Georgia, and was offered the presidency of Mercer University in 1857, but declined. His writings brought him wide recognition.[63]

Among the Methodists, President William A. Smith of Randolph-Macon College wrote *The Philosophy of Slavery* (1856). The *Works of Stephen Olin*, President of Randolph-Macon College, was published in two volumes in 1852. W. M. Wightman, President of Wofford College and later a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and Braxton Craven, President of Normal (Trinity) College, contributed to both church and secular papers. A. M. Shipp, professor in and later President of

[60] Ragsdale, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[61] Paschal, *op. cit.*, pp. 621-622.
[62] Ragsdale, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Wofford College, wrote *Methodism in South Carolina.* The *Addresses of J. H. Carlisle,* professor in and later President of Wofford College, was published in 1910. Whitefoord Smith, a professor in Wofford College, delivered several addresses and sermons which were published in pamphlet form.

Richard Irby, of the class of 1844 in Randolph-Macon College, wrote *A History of Randolph-Macon College.* H. N. McTyeire, a graduate of Randolph-Macon College in 1844 and later a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, wrote the important *A History of Methodism* (1885). John C. Granberry, of the class of 1848 in Randolph-Macon College and later a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was a writer of note.[64] Smith W. Moore, a student who entered Randolph-Macon College in 1840 and failed to graduate, became a minister in the Memphis Conference and wrote several books. A. W. Mangum, of the class of 1854 in Randolph-Macon College, contributed to both church and secular papers. His significant article on "Church and State in Their Relation to Education in North Carolina," appeared in the *Tobacco Plant,* Durham, North Carolina, on October 26, 1887.

Augustus B. Longstreet, President of Emory College and later President of the University of South Carolina, wrote several pamphlets and books. He is best known in literary circles as the author of *Georgia Scenes.* His *Inaugural Address* as president of Emory College in 1840 was published in pamphlet form. He published a newspaper, *The States Right Sentinel,* before becoming president of Emory College. *Master William Mitten,* an exposition of his views on education, contains a description of Moses Waddel's famous Willington Academy where

[64] Irby, *op. cit.,* p. 111.

Longstreet was educated.[65] In his old age Longstreet completed a work entitled "Correction of Canonized Errors of Biblical Interpretation," but unfortunately the manuscript was destroyed by fire.[66] The *Sermons and Addresses* of George F. Pierce, President of Emory College from 1848 to 1854, was published in 1902.[67] Young J. Allen, of the class of 1858 at Emory College, became a writer of note while serving as a missionary in China. He established *Wan Kwoh King Pao (Review of the Times)*, the first lasting Christian journal in China. His many books were widely read among the Chinese.[68]

Measured by present-day academic standards, the scholarship of the church colleges of the Old South was not high. Modern science had not come into its own, and the importance of good libraries was not appreciated. But apparently students who completed the college course were fairly well grounded in the classics and mathematics. Young men were not lacking in ambition or initiative. As a result of their study of the ancient languages and their drilling in English composition, perhaps the graduates of these ante-bellum colleges could spell as accurately and write as well, if not better, than today's graduates of our higher institutions of learning. Their literary society records at least reveal that they were alert to the issues of their day.

RECREATIONAL AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Opportunities for intercollegiate sports and other recreational and social activities in the church colleges of the Old South were meager, as compared with the average

[65] E. L. Green, *A History of the University of South Carolina* (Columbia, S. C., 1916), p. 65.

[66] Bullock, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77, 87. [67] *Ibid.*, p. 382.

[68] Warren A. Candler, *Young J. Allen, The Man Who Seeded China* (Nashville, Tenn., 1931), *passim*, pp. 166-180, 222-232; Bullock, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

Southern college campus today. At the Georgia Conference Manual Labor School the time from five o'clock in the afternoon until tea was "allowed for relaxation, such as walking."[69] A. W. Mangum often went for brief strolls, but one may read the entries in his diary for a period of three months before finding a notation that he engaged in "a social game of marbles" one day at noon.[70] Students at Randolph-Macon College enjoyed ball games. In appraising one of his classmates, Mangum remarked that the lad liked to play ball, would not study, and left school at the end of the first term.[71] At Emory College the boys engaged in footracing, jumping matches, fox and geese, wrestling, marbles, draughts, long walks, and playing fiddle and flute.[72] G. L. P. Wren recorded in his diary that he attended an animal show at Covington, Georgia, in May, 1859. At Normal College Enoch Faw enjoyed ice skating, went for a rabbit hunt after a heavy snow, and played hop-scotch. In the spring he "got excused from college" for ten days, went home and took part in a "log rolling" and "went squirrel hunting."[73]

At Wake Forest College the boys skated on ice, ran, jumped, played bandy, marbles, and tops, but "the most common method of physical diversion was walking to Forestville for the mail, or taking long walks into the country."[74] According to W. T. Brooks, on one occasion the entire student body at Wake Forest Institute went fishing, cooking in two ovens the fish they caught, mixing in cornbread, fat and salt, and eating their meal from leaf plates or bark covered with leaves.[75] In the early days at Wake

[69] *Southern Christian Advocate*, Dec. 8, 1837.
[70] Mangum, Diary, May 28, 1852.
[71] *Ibid.*, July 23, 1852.
[72] Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
[73] Faw, Diary, January 5, 6, 7, 9, 19, April 4 and May 1, 1856.
[74] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 461.
[75] Brooks, Diary, Aug. 19, 1836.

Forest, President Samuel Wait often led the students on Saturday afternoon in song, music, and conversation and laughter. Those who wished to play violins, clarinets, flageolets, and flutes were permitted to do so between nine and ten o'clock in the evenings.

Intercollegiate sports were unknown in the South before the Civil War. No gymnasiums and no college regulations required care of the body. During the war, however, Braxton Craven asked the trustees of Trinity College for $600 to erect a building for "gymnastic purposes."[76]

Youthful pranks and practical jokes were a part of the recreation of students. Perhaps the strict rules, the rigid supervision, and the lack of athletics and physical education made for a situation in which healthy young men were driven to find some way of releasing pent-up energies. Pranks and jokes in the ante-bellum colleges often served as escape valves.

At Davidson College the boys led a ram into the chapel which butted a professor out; tied a dressed-up horse in the chapel; burned down the belfry; took the bell to the woods and rang it each night—one time north of the school, another time south, and finally broke it in pieces and returned it; and placed a two-horse wagon on the cone of the chapel roof. In one night at Randolph-Macon College "they set the old field on fire near the college —fastened up one recitation room—put three geese in another—put a calf in another—rang the bell and tied a calf to the bell."[77] On another occasion, when they cut the bell rope and the janitor was required to blow his horn at daybreak in every row of the building as a call to prayer,

[76] Nora C. Chaffin, "Trinity College During the Civil War," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXV (Feb., 1939), 28.

[77] Mangum, Diary, April 24, 1852.

he cried, "If you won't be rung up as gentlemen, I must blow you up as hogs."[78] At Emory College the boys stole chickens, rang the bell at night, took off yard gates and carriages, tied an ox on the chapel stage, and placed a professor's horse in a second-floor room. When the bell kept ringing one night at Wake Forest College, a professor investigated and could find no ringer until his foot tripped over a rope. Following the rope, he found it tied to a student's rocking chair. The boy was innocently reading and rocking as if nothing had happened.

Apparently there was little hazing. Richard Irby, who entered Randolph-Macon College in 1839, wrote in his history of the institution, published fifty-nine years later, "Hazing was then unknown, though it was not uncommon for some of the 'green ones' to have a little fun poked at them."[79] A student at Davidson College in 1859 observed that one form of hazing was to invite a freshman to join in robbing a hen roost. The freshman would climb the tree; then someone of the group would slip to one side and shoot. The party would run, leaving the freshman to shift for himself.[80]

Opportunities for association with the opposite sex in the colleges were not numerous for several reasons. Few co-educational academies and no co-educational colleges were established in the Old South. Few parties or entertainments were given for both young men and young women. Only one entertainment was held at Davidson College, and details of the program are not known. In the 1850's the custom of holding a "Senior Party," a social event at commencement time to which young women were invited, was established.[81] Dancing and wine were not permitted on such occasions. Again, students were for-

[78] Irby, *op. cit.*, p. 113. [79] *Ibid.*, p. 73. [80] Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
[81] See *Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Wofford College*, July 7, 1857, p. 21; Faw, Diary, May 23, 1856.

bidden to leave the colleges on week-ends, except by special permission. Finally, students had little time for such interests. Their schedule was crowded, and almost every hour of the day was supervised by the faculty.[82]

The only young woman on the premises at Wake Forest Institute was the daughter of President Samuel Wait. Young men were separated from young women even in church. A young woman who was asked why the young ladies of the neighborhood did not attend church in the Institute chapel, replied that they would come at the drop of a hat, and drop the hat themselves, but that they had heard President Wait say that "he wished there was a wall fifty feet high and ten miles square around the place, and a young lady not permitted to come inside it."[83] Few, if any, references to the association with young women appear in the diary of W. T. Brooks, who was a student at Wake Forest from 1834 to 1839.

In the 1850's the situation at Normal, Randolph-Macon, and Emory colleges was somewhat different, according to student diaries and a student magazine.

> The associations of the student are not confined to those of his own age and gender. When wearied by close study, the parlors of the President and the Professors . . . offer a fine inducement for recreation; . . . he can repair thither and be instructed by the sage remarks of the learned faculty, or be refreshed by the fascinating smiles and spicy conversation of the ladies. And if he should be so unfortunate as to fall in love while at college . . . life becomes at once the summum bonum of earthly felicity. He revels in the joyous anticipation of his approaching nuptials, and strives like a Hercules, to do everything which will please, and nothing which will displease his prospective bride. He studies like a perfect hero.[84]

[82] See Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 459.
[83] See *ibid.*, pp. 138-139.
[84] *Randolph-Macon Magazine*, II (April, 1852), 100-101.

A. W. Mangum, an eighteen-year-old sophomore at Randolph-Macon College in 1852, refers several times in his diary to pleasant fellowship in the afternoon or evening with young ladies at the home of President William A. Smith.

The diary of Enoch Faw, twenty-one-year-old senior at Normal College in 1856, reveals even more freedom to associate with young women. In the five months from January to June, 1856, he entered in his diary the initials of eight young women with whom he was acquainted. He "called on" them, made their "acquaintance" in homes near the campus, "took a long walk" with them in the evening, "went to church" with them, "went to the college and library" with them, and "took three hours to drive six miles" when in company with the one whose initials appear most often in his diary. With one girl he "spent the time socially and agreeably." When he and another youth called on two young women, they "had many jokes, sweet smiles, hearty laughs, etc. I like the lady that leans to me." On one occasion he absented himself from the meeting of his literary society, and "Brother Smoot and I, with Misses D. and W., took an evening promenade. How pleasant! At 10:00 we separated." One evening he went serenading and was out until half past one o'clock and afterward felt "like a stewed witch." He received a ticket to the Greensboro Female College commencement from "Miss S. L. H." and was absent from his own college two days while attending the event. In February he was away from school an entire week while attending a wedding in Salem, North Carolina.

During a sweeping revival at Emory College in April, 1858, G. L. P. Wren's diary indicates that he still found time "to consort some with the ladies." The next month President James R. Thomas delivered an "admirable"

lecture on matrimony which put some of the boys "in a notion to get married soon." One evening Wren went to see some ladies and was so well entertained that he did not get back to his room until one o'clock. In April, 1859, Wren participated in the annual picnic given by the young ladies of the town of Oxford in honor of the senior class of Emory College.

> By couples they strolled to "the Rock," the usual picnic ground, enjoying the beauty and fragrance of the yellow jasmine, honeysuckle, and sweet shrub. There was band music, the blessing asked by Dr. Means, a fine dinner, and an eloquent speech by A. G. Haygood on behalf of his class. At sundown they were moving along the paths toward home, two by two.[85]

Thus the students devised their own means for relaxation and amusement, and college authorities intervened and prohibited when and where they thought best.

[85] Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

CHAPTER IV

Morals and Religion

MORAL LIFE

College catalogues, minutes kept by trustees and faculties, and other sources reveal that much attention was given to the moral life of students in the church colleges. It is obvious that the churches in founding colleges, and the professors in administering discipline, were determined, insofar as possible, to guard students from evil temptations.

Attempts to Protect Morals and Regulate Conduct

Locations of church schools were chosen with the moral life of students in mind. Colleges were often established in out-of-the-way places so as to shield the morals of the young people. With few exceptions, the larger and more important church colleges were located in small villages or in distinctly rural territory. Leaders generally believed that it was better so.

W. M. Wightman, who visited Boydton, Virginia, just before Randolph-Macon College was opened there in 1832, found "bold and picturesque woodlands" surrounding the establishment. His eye was "arrested and charmed with the beauty and moral association of the scene."[1] Hampden-Sidney College claimed that "its quiet locality in the country, removed from the bustle of life and from temptations to idleness and vice, incident to a town or city neighborhood . . . renders this college one of the most desirable retreats to every student who aims to secure the

[1] *Christian Sentinel*, I (Dec. 28, 1832), 117.

thorough culture of his mind and heart, and the formation of correct habits."[2] While teaching in Columbian College, Adiel Sherwood, in an article for the *Christian Index,* assured the people that the college was two and one-half miles from the Capitol in Washington, that there was not another building within a mile of the college, and that the students were therefore in the country and not tempted by the vice of the capital city.[3]

Assurance was frequently given the public that the church colleges would look well to the moral life of students. When they were converting Mercer Institute into a college the trustees "determined to remove from the institution every temptation to immorality, and . . . to sustain the principal in the maintenance of morality and good order."[4] Ten years later the trustees reported to the Georgia Baptist Convention that "the system of discipline in the University is mild and kind, and yet firm and efficient."[5] Similar reports were made by other schools.[6]

Numerous and meticulous rules governed student conduct. The relative freedom of students on American college campuses today was unknown in the South one hundred years ago. Regulations were then more negative than positive.

Students were forbidden to drink, buy, or keep spirituous liquors; they were not to frequent taverns, barrooms, or tippling houses. Gambling was prohibited. Lying, cursing, swearing, profane and obscene language, and theft were forbidden. Fighting, striking, and quarreling were

[2] *Catalogue of Hampden-Sidney College,* 1850, p. 11.
[3] *Christian Index,* Aug. 4, 1836. [4] *Ibid.,* Dec. 6, 1838.
[5] *Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention,* 1848, p. 40.
[6] See *Catalogue of Randolph-Macon College,* Oct., 1842, p. 14; *Catalogue of Davidson College,* 1848-1849, p. 8; *Catalogue of Hampden-Sidney College,* 1848, p. 18; *Southern Christian Advocate* (concerning Emory College) Jan. 3, 1856.

not permitted. Students were not to accept a challenge or in any way aid, abet, or promote a duel. Cardplaying, billiards, dice, backgammon, and other games considered immoral were prohibited. Dancing and attendance at theaters, horse races, or other places of "fashionable amusement" were taboo. Late suppers and convivial reunions were frowned upon. Fornication, visiting places of ill fame, and association with persons of know bad character were forbidden. Students were not to combine for riot or disturbance, nor were they to carry or keep in their rooms firearms, gunpowder, dirks, swords, canes, or other deadly weapons. At Mercer University smoking but not chewing was prohibited. The young men were not to be guilty of "any grossly immoral conduct whatever."

Students were not to leave school without special permission; they were not permitted to go more than one mile from college, or beyond the limits of an ordinary walk for recreation, without faculty consent. To assure attention to studies and to keep them from evil, students were expected, according to the rules, to be in their rooms from morning prayers to 8:00 A.M., from 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 M., from 2:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M., and after candlelighting in the evening, except when called upon to recite.

Faculty members were required to visit the rooms of students once or twice daily, and the rules stipulated that they could make surprise visits at any hour of the day or night—a privilege which they often exercised. Professors could enter students' rooms with or without knocking. If refused admittance at any time, a professor was authorized to enter forcibly. Repairs were made at the expense of the occupant, who might also be disciplined as the professor saw fit.

Students were expected, when required, to give evi-

dence concerning the infraction of college laws by other students. Needless to say, this rule was difficult to enforce, for many young men would profess ignorance or take any punishment meted out by the faculty rather than bear witness against their fellows.

Damages to property were assessed on the perpetrator, if known; otherwise the expense was distributed equally among all, or charged to the student assigned to the particular room damaged. Scribbling upon books, doors, walls, or other parts of the building was forbidden. Students were expected to keep their rooms clean; if not, the faculty could hire it done and charge the expense to the residents. Company was not to be entertained in one's own room.

Students were forbidden to contract debts without the permission of their parents and the head of the college. In some instances this regulation applied only to youths under twenty-one years of age. In some schools students could not buy of merchants or others nor could they trade articles with one another without permission. In Wake Forest Institute student purchases were to be made by the principal.

The colleges frowned on extravagance among students. At Wake Forest Institute pocket money was limited to five dollars a year. At Furman Institution the amount was not to exceed twenty dollars a year and was to be deposited with the steward. Normal College fixed no limit on spending money, but warned patrons that such funds were injurious to boys. Habitual extravagance was listed as a misdemeanor. Students in Oglethorpe College were not to keep or hire horses, carriages, or servants. The Wofford College catalogue specifically stated that an undergraduate who married would be automatically dropped from the institution.

On matriculation students were expected to read and promise to obey the college laws. In some instances every student had to answer before the faculty and the student body that he had read and would obey the rules and regulations of the institution. In addition, students at Randolph-Macon College were given copies of the college laws and charged for the printing.

Students were expected to behave as gentlemen at all times and in all places, and were considered amenable to the laws of the institution for their moral conduct whether present or absent. At Normal College the trustees resolved that graduation was not to be a matter of course on the completion of the required studies, but would depend upon good morals and good scholarship.

Quarterly or term reports, exhibiting the deportment, attendance, scholarship, and delinquencies of students, were sent to parents or guardians. Conduct was considered important; "deportment" topped the list of items on a student report card at Davidson College in 1847, with "scholarship" and "punctuality" next in order.

A few professors objected to the minute and detailed regulations concerning the conduct of students, but such teachers seem to have been the exception and not the rule. When the faculty at Washington College decided to put three students on probation for not staying in their rooms during study hours, Professor E. Dabney, who was clerk of the faculty and recorded the votes, voted in the negative.[7] In 1842 President Otis Smith of Mercer University resigned because he disagreed with the trustees over the flogging of students; and President Drury Lacy left Davidson College in 1860 because of differences among the faculty on questions of discipline.

[7] MS Minutes of the Faculty of Washington College, May 7, 1841, p. 20.

In his inaugural address as president of Randolph-Macon College Stephen Olin condemned "the multitude of vexatious enactments" pertaining to student conduct, declaring that they "uniformly operate as provocatives to transgression":

> . . . the frequent arraignment of students upon charges of petty delinquency, is a fruitful source of corruption which would be, at least, partially removed by absolving them from allegiance to the chapter of crimes and punishments, and holding them accountable for their conduct upon the common obligation of morality and duty. Such occasions often present temptations to prevarication and falsehood, too strong to be resisted by ordinary minds, and a trial before the faculty has often produced a ruinous prostration of self-respect and all honorable feeling.[8]

He objected to the rule which denied a student dismissed from one institution entrance to another, observing that under more favorable circumstances and more fortunate companions a young man might become virtuous and respectable. E. A. Nisbet believed that "discipline should look more to principles and less to mere overt conformity to conventional law."[9]

Difficulties in Enforcing Rules

As might be expected, the colleges had difficulty in enforcing the numerous rules pertaining to student conduct. Young men often seemed to take delight in breaking the college regulations. Whether they were apprehended and disciplined for such infraction of the rules seemed not to matter very much to them. Apparently there was more relish in disobedience if the offenders succeeded in veiling their identity. Bishop John C. Granberry, a member of the class of 1848 in Randolph-Macon College, observed that the "continued exercise of authority and plan of

[8] Olin, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22. [9] Nisbet, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

watching provoked insubordination and evasion; the wits of the boys were set to work in order to deceive the teachers, and to break the rules without detection, or, at least with impunity. The risk gave to mischief and lawlessness a relish they would not otherwise have possessed."[10]

At Davidson College drunkenness caused the suspension of two students in 1845, seven in 1847, and thirteen in 1849. In 1840 a student at Washington College was dismissed, after repeated breaches of discipline, for drinking in his room. Another student at the same institution was suspended because he could not refute "the seemingly well-supported charges of having drank to intoxication at the natural bridge."[11] At Randolph-Macon College A. W. Mangum found a classmate "prostrated on the forest's bosom by the unseemly and unmerciful hand of King Alcohol," and apparently did not report the fact to the faculty.[12]

Five students at Washington College were disciplined in 1841 for shooting pistols or firecrackers on the college grounds. Two were suspended at Davidson College in 1847 for cursing a professor. "The president [of Washington College] having retired from motives of delicacy," the faculty "examined and reprimanded" his son and another youth "for a fight which took place within the college buildings."[13] Six young men were suspended from Davidson College in 1838 for immorality. The first entry in the faculty record book at Randolph-Macon College pertains to the dismissal of two students who were found by one Mr. Carney "in a cabin in company with his Negro

[10] Irby, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

[11] MS Minutes of the Faculty of Washington College, Sept. 11, 1843, p. 59.

[12] Mangum, Diary, April 13, 1852.

[13] MS Minutes of the Faculty of Washington College, April 2, 1841, p. 17.

women between ten and eleven o'clock at night."[14] Eight students at Washington College were admonished or placed on probation for leaving the college in order to attend a circus. In more than one college midnight suppers were smuggled into the rooms, usually with the aid of Negroes.

Four students at Washington College were placed on probation for not staying in their rooms during study hours. Fourteen more were placed on probation "for remaining on the House Mountain until Monday evening without leave."[15]

There were cases of continued or general delinquency. Professor Dabney of Washington College was directed to write the father of Cyrus B. Clayton that in view of the latter's "continued delinquencies," it was best that the young man be withdrawn from school. At the same school A. W. Kercheval was notified that "his practice of spending a large portion of his time in college, in violation of college law will not be tolerated."[16] In 1858 Wofford College found it necessary to dismiss three boys from the preparatory department "after all suitable means to improve them had been exhausted."[17]

Perhaps the most difficult problems of discipline arose when students refused obedience and, singly or in groups, stubbornly insisted on what they considered their prerogatives or rights. When the young men believed their rights were ignored or denied, they did not hesitate to disobey flatly, to pass resolutions condemning the faculty, to present petitions to the faculty protesting punishment meted out to fellow students, or to stage strikes and riots in the

[14] MS Minutes of the Faculty of Randolph-Macon College, April 15, 1835.

[15] MS Minutes of the Faculty of Washington College, May 4 and 7, 1841, p. 20.

[16] *Ibid.*, April 12, 1842.

[17] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Wofford College, July 13, 1858, p. 27.

hope of carrying their point. At Randolph-Macon College a student making a loud noise before another's door, and a youth found in another's room, refused to go to their own quarters when they were ordered by the tutor. Called before the faculty, both declared that they had refused to obey because they believed that the tutor had no right to order them. Declining to renounce their view or promise obedience to such orders in the future, both were dismissed.[18] In 1852 the Franklin Literary Society of Randolph-Macon College decided that one of its members had been "unjustly dismissed" from college, and therefore "drafted some resolutions relative to the matter, impugning the motives, and condemnatory of the course, of the faculty and sent a copy of these resolutions to the faculty."[19] The faculty regarded the resolutions as contempt, and dismissed every student who refused to "retract the sentiments of the resolutions."[20] "Many retracted; but many likewise remained firm. They all left, nearly, but have nearly all returned."[21]

In 1845 eleven students at Davidson College refused to attend classes unless two of their fellows who had been suspended for drinking were re-instated. The faculty ignored the ultimatum; seven of the eleven later apologized and returned. In 1853 youths at the same institution asked permission to go to Mount Mourne, three miles away, where candidates for governor were to speak. The faculty refused, but forty-one students, one half of the student body, heard the candidates. As a result, three were suspended and the others were required to sign a pledge to obey all laws thereafter. The next year rowdiness in the dormitory the night before the young men were to leave for the Christmas vacation brought about the dis-

[18] MS Minutes of the Faculty of Randolph-Macon College, Nov. 15, 1842.
[19] Mangum, Diary, Oct. 1, 1852.
[20] *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1852.
[21] *Ibid.*

missal of a student who, according to his fellows, had nothing to do with the affair. On account of this injustice fifty of the eighty students enrolled failed to return for the spring term.

Rarely did the faculty of any college recede from a stand concerning discipline, no matter how worthy the petitions or how strenuous the opposition of the students. The day after the two young men at Randolph-Macon College were found in a cabin with Negro women, some students presented a petition on behalf of one of the boys to the effect that he was of good character and was not in the cabin with any criminal intention, and asked that he be not dismissed. The faculty acquiesced and placed the youth on probation. Usually in such instances the faculty adhered to its stand, and in addition punished petitioners and protesters for presuming to dictate to the college authorities, even if it meant the expulsion or withdrawal of one half of the student body. It should be said, however, that about the time of the Civil War the vehement protests of students against the practice of teachers visiting the rooms at night and seeking to surprise inmates and learn whether the rules were being kept, brought about a change at Davidson College.

In most colleges the degrees of punishment for breaking the rules or laws were as follows: private admonition, public admonition, suspension, and expulsion. Corporal punishment in disciplining college students seems to have been rare. Usually a student could be expelled only by or with the consent of the board of trustees. Later the demerit system came into use. In Davidson College two demerits were given for tardiness in presenting an excuse or failing to attend college exercises; profanity, fighting, and being out of room after eleven o'clock at night drew ten demerits. One hundred to one hundred fifty demerits meant automatic suspension or dismissal. Enter-

ing into combinations to interrupt college order might bring one hundred fifty demerits for one offense at Wofford College.

Faculty and Student Views of Student Conduct

What did faculty members and students themselves think of student conduct in the church colleges during the period under consideration? No doubt all persons in authority in the colleges expected considerable misbehavior on the part of the students. The chief topic of conversation at Emory College faculty meetings was student misconduct, and frequently meetings were called to deal with infractions of the rules. Some professors expressed their opinion of the perversity of students in strong language:

> Indulged, petted, and uncontrolled at home, allowed to trample upon all laws, human and divine, at the preparatory school, he comes to college, but too often with an undisciplined mind, and an uncultivated heart, yet with exalted ideas of personal dignity, and a scowling contempt for lawful authority, and wholesome restraint. How is he to be controlled? . . . Admonish him? Why, he will go off and laugh with his classmates at the solemn visage and old-fashioned remarks of the Honored Praeses, and jeer at the rebuking looks of their "most potent, grave, and reverend signiors," the venerated faculty.[22]

Braxton Craven, President of Normal College, was no less severe in his appraisal of the intransigent nature of many students: "It has long been the custom in Southern colleges for students to have a code of regulations and morals peculiar to themselves. According to this code, they may practice all dissipation, depredations, play tricks and then club together for concealment, and if one should divulge anything, he is insulted and scoffed."[23]

[22] Major D. H. Hill, *College Discipline*, Inaugural Address as Professor of Mathematics and Engineering, Davidson College, Feb. 28, 1855.

[23] E. C. Brooks, "Braxton Craven and Trinity College," *Trinity Alumni Register*, Jan., 1916, p. 254.

On the other hand, college presidents and trustees, reporting on college discipline in the church papers, before denominational gatherings, and on commencement occasions, usually employed commendatory language. The following are typical reports: "The faculty report a prompt unhesitating obedience to the rules on the part of the students."[24] "The young men . . . are noted for their elevated moral character. Intemperance is unknown. . . ."[25] "I bear a willing and hearty testimony to the uniformly correct and gentlemanly deportment of the students of this college."[26] "The deportment of the students has been such as to render, with two exceptional cases, one in the preparatory department and one in the college, all application of discipline unnecessary."[27] "Our students generally merit unqualified approbation; yet, we occasionally suffer by the irregularities of reckless youth."[28]

Such comments of students as are now available concerning the conduct of their fellows in the church colleges seem to be more favorable than unfavorable. A youth at Davidson College wrote that most of the influential boys were pious, but added: "There are many here who are growing up the farthest advanced in wickedness according to age that ever I saw. . . . They will not work nor study and for mischief they are always ready. They are saucy and impudent and in short the general part of them are destitute of moral principle."[29] W. T. Brooks at Wake Forest Institute expressed satisfaction on being allowed to move to new quarters where he would not be "crowded in a room

[24] *Minutes of the South Carolina Baptist Convention*, 1857, p. 32.
[25] *Minutes of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention*, 1850, p. 20.
[26] L. C. Garland, *Address to the Laity of the Virginia Conference* May 21, 1841 (pamphlet), pp. 4-5
[27] MS Minutes of the Trustees of Wofford College, July 7, 1857, p. 20.
[28] *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina*, 1848, p. 154.
[29] Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

with five or six, and some of them a very worst kind of boys."[30] A few weeks earlier Brooks had recorded in his diary: "Wickedness has prevailed to a greater extent this year than at any time since the Institution has been in operation."[31]

D. R. Creecy, a student at Wake Forest College from 1839 to 1841, was more appreciative of the good qualities in his fellow students. He never knew of any case of drunkenness during his stay at the college, although the boys would sometimes buy a jugful and go into the woods and have a good time dancing around a big stump while an old Negro fiddled. A Randolph-Macon youth took exception to the view of many people that students were "incarnate devils going about, charybantic-like, seeking what they may injure and destroy." He asserted, "There are as many honest, upright, high-minded young men in a college as can be found in any portion of the universe—young gentlemen possessing the highest moral integrity —sensitive to every generous impulse of honor, and scorning to commit a base action."[32] He admitted that some students were more merry than others and that some drank, but he believed that student morals were improving.

> Many a religious youth, fresh from the altar of home, with the warm affectionate kiss of a fond mother imprinted on his cheek, and the subject of the sincere benedictions of a doting father, has entered the walls of a college buoyant with high hopes of future greatness and glory; and long before his collegiate career has terminated, his religion is gone, his moral faculties have been obtunded; he engages without scruple, in the most demoralizing vices, and presents the unseemly sight of a wreck of all that was once lovely, manly, and magnificent. But happily for

[30] Brooks, Diary, Aug. 22, 1836. [31] *Ibid.*, July 30, 1836.
[32] "The Student" in the *Randolph-Macon Magazine*, II (April, 1852), 97-98.

the educational interests of the country, many of those evils which formerly found their way into our institutions of learning have been banished, and a purer morality has succeeded them.[33]

A. W. Mangum, a sophomore ministerial student at Randolph-Macon College in 1852, was disgusted on finding a fellow student drunk in the forest; he referred to some pranks as reckless conduct; and on one occasion he declined to join his literary society in a protest to the faculty; but nowhere in his diary does he express a low estimate of the morals or deportment of any considerable portion of the student body. Enoch Faw, a student at Normal College from 1851 to 1856, who kept a diary during his last year, mentions no immorality on the part of the students, and no playful pranks, nor does he refer to any disciplinary problems in the college. Apparently Faw thought well of the morals and conduct of his fellow students.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

The denominations built, controlled, and directed colleges because they believed that education and religion should be united. Faculties and trustees faithfully carried out the wishes of the churches in this regard. They made religion a part of college life.

Outward Forms of Religion

The outward forms of religion were numerous and were taken seriously by the faculty, if not always by the students. Usually grace was said at table in college dining halls by some member of the faculty. A student wrote from Davidson College in 1841: "A tin horn was sounded for the different meals. A blessing was asked, and when amen was said not a biscuit was left on the plates."[34]

Prayers were said morning and evening in the college

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

chapel at which all students and faculty members were required to be present.[35] Morning prayers were held immediately upon rising, before breakfast or any other activity. Evening prayers were usually held just prior to the supper hour. Each prayer session was about fifteen minutes in length. Apparently the chapel service consisted of a scripture reading with a brief exposition of its meaning or a brief exhortation concerning its truth and an extempore prayer by the leader, usually a professor. "Portions [of the Bible] are read and explained to the students daily, and all the duties of man constantly urged."[36]

At times evening prayers were less religious, the period being given over to hearing student speeches. Declamations by members of the lower classes and original orations by seniors were required at intervals throughout the academic year, and the evening chapel hour furnished both an occasion and an audience for the practical training of youthful oratorical powers.

Maintaining regularity of attendance, promptness, and good behavior at prayers was often a problem for the authorities. College laws commanded students to behave in chapel "with decency and composure," "with gravity and reverence," or "with the seriousness and reverence proper to a religious assembly," but even so, conduct at these ses-

[35] College charters often emphasized religious liberty. But neither state legislatures nor college authorities regarded compulsory attendance at daily prayers and Sunday church services in college as contrary to the principle of religious liberty. "It shall nevertheless be the duty of students to attend prayers in college morning and evening" (*Charter of Randolph-Macon College*, p. 15). "Yet, as the observance of the Sabbath is a moral duty, every student is required to attend religious worship morning and evening, unless excused by the president" (*The Charter and Laws of Wake Forest College*, p. 9). Furthermore, at Wake Forest and Davidson colleges any student who denied the existence of God, or the inspiration of the Bible, or who endeavored to propagate principles subversive of the Christian religion, was subject to expulsion (Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 182; *Catalogue of Davidson College*, 1848-1849, p. 12).

[36] *Catalogue of Normal College*, 1850-1851, pp. 12-13.

sions was not always exemplary. While an absent-minded tutor at Randolph-Macon College was in the midst of a long prayer a mischievous student responded with a loud amen, hoping that the ejaculation would cause the tutor to think that the prayer was over. The leader speedily brought the petition to a close, but afterward called in a youth whom he suspected and said, "I have sent for you, sir, to say to you that *you shan't say amen* to my prayers."[37]

Perhaps for the most part daily prayers were routine and perfunctory. Over a period of six months Enoch Faw's diary refers to these daily worship sessions only once, merely saying that after he had spent the night a short distance away from college he "got to college after prayers." W. T. Brooks and A. W. Mangum, both ministerial students, refer meaningfully to daily prayers only during revivals. But undoubtedly two such services daily, with strong emphasis on attendance, impressed students with the fact that religion was one of the most important factors in college life. Perhaps the following statements by a student and a college historian are not exaggerations. A student in Normal College in 1853 wrote to a friend a few weeks after matriculation: "The very atmosphere seems to be filled with religion."[38] The historian Richard Irby, connected with Randolph-Macon College as student and officer for more than sixty years, declared: "Religion was the first and foremost consideration. . . . The morning sacrifices of prayer and praise noted every day of work. . . . The result and fruit of this work was a high state of religious life."[39]

[37] Irby, *op. cit.*, p. 76. A similar attempt to terminate a prayer at the Ferryville Academy in Virginia caused the master to take time out and thrash several boys. Afterward he resumed his petition and finished it without further interruption (Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 328).

[38] *Richmond Christian Advocate*, Aug. 24, 1854.

[39] Irby, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

Attendance at church services on Sunday was no less compulsory than presence at morning and evening prayers during the week. Sunday services were held either in the college chapel or in churches near by. Regulations at Hampden-Sidney College stipulated that students should attend church services on Sunday if such services were held within three miles of the institution. Some colleges had chaplains, but apparently the chaplains were professors so designated, or pastors of churches near the college grounds, or pastors of organized churches which held their Sunday services along with the students in the college chapel.[40] Sermons were delivered by chaplains, college presidents, clerical members of the faculties, and visiting ministers.

College rules called for strict observance of the Sabbath; they forbade "worldly employments or recreations"; they prohibited students from assembling in each other's rooms or elsewhere "for vain and worldly conversation and amusements." For these reasons church attendance may have been a more or less welcome relief from the otherwise monotonous inactivity of the first day of the week. In any event, Sunday church services apparently were more interesting to students than daily chapel exercises. Enoch Faw heard three long sermons and then referred to "the Sabbath with all its religious privileges." He enjoyed the first part of a two-hour and ten-minute sermon on baptism by Dr. Peter Doub, but admitted that he tired before the end. Over a period of a little more than two years W. T. Brooks noted some seventy-five sermons which he had heard at Wake Forest Institute, and in most instances he gave the text and often an outline together with his own comment. He liked Professor

[40] See *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (May 13, 1836), 150; Irby, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Stacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 115, 184.

Armstrong's sermons better than Principal Samuel Wait's. The following entries in Brooks's diary are typical:

May 5, 1835. Sermon by Prof. Armstrong from Lk. 16:25. "Son, Remember." I do not remember ever hearing a more searching sermon in all my life. Apr. 28, 1836. Sermon much to purpose. He made a most solemn appeal to the unconverted. May 21, 1837. His sermon was really sublime.[41]

A. W. Mangum listened to sermons with much interest, and G. L. P. Wren heard "especially good" sermons by Bishop James O. Andrew, Professor Alexander Means, and others. It should be remembered that while Brooks and Mangum were preparing for the ministry, Faw and Wren were lay students.

In many, if not in all, of the colleges, faculty members taught Bible classes on Sunday. In some instances attendance was required from the beginning; in others attendance was voluntary at first and became compulsory later. Usually each college class had its own Sunday Bible lesson; thus, freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors were not mixed together in various Sunday Bible classes, nor was the individual student free to choose which professor he would hear on the Bible on the Sabbath. No doubt many young men accepted Sunday Bible instruction as a part of college routine, but some did not "receive with meekness the engrafted word." At Washington College, thirty-six young men were "placed on strict special probation in regard to attendance on duty, for having entered into an agreement on last Sabbath not to attend recitation on that day."[42]

Formal Instruction in Religion

In addition to Sunday Bible classes, some formal instruction in Bible and other religious subjects was given

[41] Brooks, Diary, *loc. cit.*

[42] MS Minutes of the Faculty of Washington College, June 14 and 16, 1841, pp. 22-23.

as a part of the regular college curriculum. But throughout the period prior to the Civil War, college courses for serious, systematic Bible study were relatively few. Regarding them there was more talk than action. In 1831 Thomas S. Grimké declared that to omit the Bible as a textbook was to proclaim to pupils that religion is of little consequence and that heathen mythology is a preferable study to the Bible. In 1835 the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church regarded the Bible as a textbook of paramount importance in any wise system of scholastic education.[43] In 1840 the Methodist bishops declared that "any course of study in a Methodist college or university would be essentially defective if it did not embrace the Bible."[44] The General Conference responded by recommending that every school and college study the English version of the Bible according to some systematic plan.[45] The Concord Presbytery earnestly recommended that the trustees of Davidson College introduce "the daily study of the Holy Scriptures into the curriculum."[46] The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, urged that the Bible be used as a textbook from the primary schools to the highest class in college.[47] Many similar statements and recommendations were made by individuals and church bodies. Most college catalogues announced that the Bible was a part of the course of instruction.

In special Monday morning recitations, in weekly lectures by the president or a faculty member, or in translation of the Bible in the Greek classes, the Scriptures were taught in all the church colleges before the Civil

[43] Shipp, *op. cit.*, p. 562.

[44] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1840, p. 141.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[46] Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[47] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1850, p. 138; 1854, pp. 312, 314; 1858, pp. 536, 538.

War. But no first-rate course in English Bible was offered in the colleges of the Old South. Weekly lectures by the president, Monday morning recitations, and translation of the Greek Testament could hardly be called adequate Bible courses. Student diaries do not refer to meaningful Bible courses.

Some contemporaries were aware of the actual situation, despite all the well-meaning resolutions of official church gatherings about the central place of the Bible in education. Professor William A. Harris, of La Grange College, claimed that the Bible was "taught in the colleges only in Sabbath classes," that it held "a secondary place, or no place at all," and that as a regular and daily study probably could not be found in the curriculum of any school or college.[48] Though the Randolph-Macon College catalogue for 1842 announced recitations in the Greek Testament every Monday morning, the alumni asked in 1859 that a chair of biblical literature be set up in the school.

Courses on the "Evidences of Christianity," "Natural Theology," and "Moral Philosophy" were offered in the colleges, usually to upperclassmen. Some of these, like the Bible courses, were taught on Monday morning. At Hampden-Sidney College, according to the catalogue for 1828, seniors recited on "Paley's *Evidences* once a week through the year," and at Randolph-Macon College the class on "Evidences of Christianity" came before breakfast on Monday morning.

Among the religious textbooks used in North Carolina colleges before 1860, listed by W. E. Drake, are the following: James Beattie's, *Evidences of the Christian Religion* (1788), Horne's *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of Holy Scriptures* (1825), Mel-

[48] *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South,* XII (1858), 83.

moth's *The Sublime and Beautiful of Scriptures* (1795), William Paley's *A View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1787), Prideaux's *The Old and New Testaments Connected* (1815), Joseph Priestly's *Discourses Relating to the Evidences of Revealed Religion* (1797), Rosemuller's *The Biblical Geography of Asia Minor, Phoenicia and Arabia* (1841), Sykes's *The Principle and Connection of Natural and Revealed Religion* (1840), Gilbert West's *A Defense of the Christian Revelation* (1748), and Thomas Wood's *Germs of Thought* (1821).[49]

As with the Sunday or Monday Bible classes, probably most of the students pursued the required religious subjects without complaint. But some objected to these courses. Six lads at Randolph-Macon College announced in writing that they had "deliberately and solemnly determined not to recite on the Evidences of Christianity on Monday morning and wished to know the consequences."[50] Informed that attendance was required, they applied for the status of irregular students. Insisting that they had no intention of trying to evade college law, four were excused from the class, but the other two, unwilling to make such an assertion or to admit that they were in error, were dismissed from the college.[51] Another indication of the unpopularity of such courses is the fact that when the plan of "schools" was adopted at the same college the enrollment was as follows: mathematics, 135; Latin, 119; Greek, 103; modern languages, 94; chemistry and natural philosophy, 67; and moral philosophy, 29.[52]

Special attention, however, was given to ministerial students in the colleges. In some instances the president

[49] Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

[50] MS Minutes of the Faculty of Randolph-Macon College, Sept. 4 to 6, 1838.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] *Catalogue of Randolph-Macon College*, 1859-1860, p. 9.

met them at odd hours for instruction. "Tonight I attended the regular meeting of the Theological class," wrote A. W. Mangum, "and consumed an hour in listening to a lecture by Dr. William A. Smith on 'The Necessity of the Atonement.' "[53] At Wofford College ministerial students were taught "Hebrew, Greek, logic, systematic theology, and the composition of sermons," not to mention a biblical course.[54]

Revivals and Their Phenomena

Students often experienced religion in college revivals, of which there were many. Academic centers today may for the most part manifest only an intellectual attitude toward or appreciation of religion, and they may shy away from anything that savors of revivalism in religion. But in the church colleges of the Old South sweeping revivals which stirred student life from center to circumference were annual occurrences. The Methodists declared that nearly all their literary institutions were "annually blessed with gracious revivals of religion," and that in some the revivals occurred almost every term.[55] The historian of Oglethorpe College recorded that "year after year these seasons [of revival] returned with almost unvarying constancy."[56] Revival phenomena occurred in schools of all denominations, but were most frequent in Methodist and Baptist institutions. Thirty-eight revivals in educational institutions in the Old South were distributed as follows: Methodist, 18; Baptist, 14; Presbyterian, 4; Episcopalian, 2.

Revivals usually were not brought on by setting aside

[53] Mangum, Diary, March 16, 1852.

[54] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Wofford College, Nov. 30, 1855, pp. 7, 10.

[55] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1854, p. 308; 1858, p. 536.

[56] Stacy, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

a special period of a week or two when the students were to listen to an evangelistic preacher; they started more or less spontaneously among the students; or were promoted by the faculty and the ministerial students in the colleges. In a number of instances college revivals began soon after students had attended evangelistic services in the neighborhood, from which places they brought the revival fires to the campus. This was true of revivals at Hampden-Sidney College in 1787 and Wake Forest Institute in 1834. Oftentimes college authorities declared that the fervor began among the students without any previous thought or plan on the part of the administration. Such was the genesis of revivals among the girls in Wesleyan College in Georgia in 1839 and among the young men at Randolph-Macon College in 1834. Sometimes a sermon would unexpectedly precipitate a college revival. In the early days, H. G. Leigh was invited to supply the pulpit at Randolph-Macon College in the absence of the chaplain. He came with a prepared sermon, but on entering the pulpit was moved to take another text. At the close he called for penitents and "a large number of students with streaming eyes, went to the altar."[57] President W. M. Wingate was surprised on calling for penitents after a Sunday sermon at Wake Forest College to see twelve or fifteen boys come forward.

Deaths of students at Mercer and Randolph-Macon colleges precipitated powerful revivals. In 1839, at the funeral of William Cain, a devout student in Mercer University, "a pathetic appeal was made by one of the pious students to his fellow students, urging an inquiry, how many were prepared to die as he died, and to acknowledge the goodness of God, in selecting him instead of those who were unprepared to go."[58] The young men were deeply

[57] Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
[58] *Christian Index*, May 30, 1839.

moved by this address, and a revival followed. When a student named Holt died at Randolph-Macon College in 1852, the chaplain used the occasion in a similar way to induce a revival which lasted two full weeks and greatly affected the student body.

Emotion was manifest in college revivals. It was so pronounced at Hampden-Sidney College in 1787 that President John Blair Smith, though he encouraged the revival, felt constrained to advise against weeping, shouting, jumping, and prostrations. Principal Samuel Wait asserted that at the revival in Wake Forest Institute in 1834 "no attempt was made to work up passions" and that the students came forward as seekers "without the least disorder and in the most solemn and deliberate manner."[59] The Episcopalians rejoiced in a revival at their Institute in Montpelier, Georgia, but "so soon as this outburst of feeling manifested itself," they felt called upon "to act with utmost caution and prudence."[60]

But while college authorities often tried to guard against excessive emotion, revivals were frequently so exciting that they stopped classes and upset college routine from ten days to two weeks. When a revival burst forth at Mercer University in 1839, President B. M. Sanders wrote that they were compelled "in a few days to give up all ordinary business."[61] While a revival was in progress in Randolph-Macon College in 1852, A. W. Mangum wrote in his diary: "Lessons and textbooks are fast being supplanted by prayers and hymn books and Bibles. Study seems today as if it were entirely a secondary matter."[62] At the Cave Spring School (Baptist) in

[59] *North Carolina Baptist Interpreter*, Oct. 4, 1834.

[60] *Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Georgia*, 1847, pp. 10-11.

[61] *Christian Index*, May 30, 1839.

[62] Mangum, Diary, March 26, 1852.

Georgia, "such was the state of religious excitement amongst the students that the expected examination was wholly omitted."[63] "Soon the work seemed to be so deep and so general that it was thought best to dispense with college exercises, and attend exclusively to the soul's interest of those who were asking earnestly the way of life. This was done for a week."[64]

The revival spirit usually moved the more pious students to try to convert the others. It was a student who exhorted at the funeral of William Cain at Mercer University in 1839; and when his appeal caused some of the unconverted to go secretly into the forests for prayer, the more pious young men discovered them and "began to nurse them and retire with them into the woods to pray." At the close of the revival thus begun, only two students remained unconverted, and the report to the church paper exclaimed, "Oh! What wrestling of their classmates there is for them."[65] A. W. Mangum, who was instrumental in the conversion of a fellow student, wrote: "Twelve o'clock at night. This day has passed tolerably pleasantly. Tonight I. H. Spud received the pardoning grace of God and is now sitting by me with a countenance expressing peace and glory."[66] W. T. Brooks wrote: "Entered into firm resolution: we who had a hope in Christ, that we would seek some retired spot where we might pray for those of our fellow students who are mourning the love of God to know."[67] The next day Brooks noted that the pious students had built a little Bethel in a secret spot where they might retire and pray for their unconverted fellows.

[63] *Christian Index*, Aug. 8, 1839.
[64] W. M. Wingate, in the *Biblical Recorder*, Oct. 1, 1857.
[65] B. M. Sanders, in the *Christian Index*, May 30, 1839.
[66] Mangum, Diary, April 2, 1852.
[67] Brooks, Diary, Aug. 23, 1835.

Accounts of Revivals in Student Diaries

Brooks, Mangum, and Wren, students at Wake Forest, Randolph-Macon, and Emory colleges, respectively, in 1835, 1852, and 1858, all entered in their diaries accounts of the progress of revivals in their institutions for the years indicated. These contemporary student records furnish much pertinent information regarding the origin, progress, characteristics, and results of college revivals. They show that revivals in colleges were a type, regardless of the year or the denominational affiliation of the institution involved.

Brooks was a twenty-six-year-old ministerial student when a revival took place at Wake Forest Institute:

> Tuesday, August 18, 1835.—This meeting [a special student prayer meeting at night in the chapel] was held in consequence of Mr. Yancy's returning from the camp meeting professing a hope in Christ, the Savior of sinners. This meeting we firmly believe has been beneficial to our souls, not only those who have a hope in Christ, but those who are yet in the gall of bitterness and bonds of iniquity. We believe from the signs of the times that the Lord will pour us out a blessing. O, that the heavenly Dove would once more return to cheer our drooping spirits. O, that the sweet singing of birds might once more be heard in our land. Resolved this night, with the assistance of God, to live more like a Christian for the future than I have heretofore. To dispense with so much jesting and unnecessary talk which is not becoming a Christian, and endeavor to show a better example to my fellow students.
>
> Wednesday, August 19.—Met in the chapel for prayer instead of speaking. Considerable anxiety manifested among the students to seek the salvation of their souls.
>
> Thursday night, August 20.—Assembled again for prayer. Had Brother Dennis with us. Still more excitement among us. Two or three of the students professed a hope in Christ.
>
> Friday night, August 21.—Still a good prospect for a happy time amongst [us]. Brother Dennis with us again.

Saturday A.M., August 22.—Attended New Union Church. Very warm sermon delivered by Brother Dennis. Considerable excitement. Returned by Dr. Outlaw and dined. Had a very pleasant conversation. The Doctor related a very serious circumstance which took place at the convention in Bertie relative to a gentleman who disturbed the preachers and in a short time was cut off the stage of action and had to go to meet the Judge of all the earth. What a fearful account he must have had to render to his God!

Sunday A.M., August 23.—Attended New Union Church. Had a happy communion. Very good feeling seemed to exist among the members. . . . The excitement still encouraging. Entered into firm resolution: we who had a hope in Christ, that we would seek some retired spot where we might pray for those of our fellow students who are mourning the love of God to know. And, O, that God in his infinite mercy would condescend to bless the effort.

Sunday night, August 23.—Attended prayer meeting; the excitement still high. Two or three of the students professed a hope in Christ.

Monday, A.M., August 24.—The brethren built a little Bethel in a secret spot, in order that they might retire and pray for their fellow students who were mourning the love of God to know. And we can say of a truth on the following night that the Lord was pleased to bless us in a very particular manner. We would hold the best of the wine for the last. Four or five of our precious young students professed a hope in Christ. O, how happy are they who the Savior obey, and who has laid up their treasure above. O, who can tell the goodness of God to sinful man. Let all the earth join to praise his holy name forever. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, praise his holy name.

Tuesday P.M., August 25.—Assembled in the chapel. Preaching by Brother Purifoy from the text that men ought always to pray and not to faint. . . . At night had a glorious time. Five or six of our students professed a hope in Christ, the Savior of sinners.

Wednesday night, August 26.—Assembled in prayer somewhat disheartened at the prospect!

Thursday night, August 27.—The Lord manifested himself to two precious souls, one of whom we had almost despaired, but thanks to God he is able to work wonders amongst his people!

Friday morning, August 28.—Attended at the Bethel. Good feelings exhibited among the brethren. A very feeling exhortation delivered by Professor Armstrong. At night somewhat discouraged at the prospects.

Saturday night, August 29.—The Lord was with us in truth. Two professed. O, how kind the Lord is in blessing us.

Sunday, August 30.—Met for worship. A short sermon delivered by Professor Armstrong, from third chapter of John and eighth verse. . . . After the sermon we proceeded to constitute a church. It was a very blessed time.

[No entries in diary for August 31 and September 1 and 3, 1835.]

Wednesday, September 2.—Met in chapel for prayer instead of speaking. Felt somewhat cold. Received some very lucid views from Professor Armstrong among which were, that neither ecstatic joy, nor pungent grief, could last without destroying a person, because it is contrary to human nature.

Friday, September 4.—Read today a very applicable piece in the Greek reader, concerning Juno's sending two serpents, to destroy Hercules, when being a child, but he not fearing the serpents, caught them round the neck and strangled them. So ought Christians to strangle every wickedness which might arise, so that they might fulfil the word of God. . . .[68]

A. W. Mangum was a ministerial student in the sophomore class when a revival occurred at Randolph-Macon College:

Thursday, March 18, 1852.—After breakfast I visited his room [the reference is to Holt, a fellow student who had been

[68] W. T. Brooks also entered in his diary brief accounts of the revivals at Wake Forest Institute in the last days of August and the first days of September, 1836 and 1837. (See Brooks, Diary.)

sick a week] and on entering it found a large number of students were surrounding his death bed, among whom were his classmates whom he had requested to visit him and to whom he was then giving his dying advice. . . . I took that pale hand in mine as he bade me an everlasting farewell. . . . He seemed perfectly resigned to his fate and seemed entirely willing and ready to die, except that he wished to see his mother once more. . . . He lingered a few short minutes perfectly calm and unshaken. . . . Soon his spirit took its flight, no doubt from all appearances, to rest in Abraham's bosom. . . .

Tonight a prayer meeting was held in the chapel, and a very touching appeal was made by Brother August, chaplain of the college, to the unconverted portion of the congregation to profit by this another evidence that "in the midst of life we are in death!" And may Almighty God grant that I may profit by it. College exercises proper are suspended until tomorrow night.

The chaplain officiated at Holt's funeral on Friday. On Sunday morning Mangum listened to Chaplain P. F. August in the college chapel and recorded that "the sermon was perhaps superior to any I have heard him preach. . . . Brother August preached again at night, and this from all appearances is the beginning of a glorious revival; for we have tonight one or two mourners."[69]

Monday, March 22.—College monotony [prevailed until 7:00 p.m.] when services commenced in the chapel. After a touching sermon by the chaplain, some religious excitement prevailed and before all retired from the chapel E. K. Harris presented himself as an object of prayer, as a candidate for eternal life.

Tuesday, March 23.—Today routine duties as usual and alone, save a prayer meeting at 12:00 which I did not attend. The revival is still progressing. E. K. Harris professed this evening. Also, tonight, I. D. Proctor. Ten or twelve mourners.

Wednesday, March 24.—This morning after breakfast I at-

[69] Mangum, Diary, March 21, 1852.

tended a prayer meeting in I. Williams' room, and at twelv o'clock one in the sophomore recitation room. The chaplai preached in the chapel at night and a great deal of excitemen followed. There were sixteen mourners and several converts.

Thursday, March 25.—I participated in a prayer meetin again this morning, and also at eleven. Tonight was anothe glorious time among the students. About twenty to twenty-fou mourners. Two converts. College is no longer what college ha long been, a place of wickedness and sinfulness. The Devil's lon held authority is fast declining and fast being transferred to th blessed Savior. May this glorious revival continue to progress unt every single soul in college and the vicinity shall be brought to saving knowledge of the truth.

Friday, March 26.—Lessons and textbooks are fast bein supplanted by prayers and hymn books and Bibles. Study seem today, as it were, entirely a secondary matter. The Revival i continuing with most astonishing success. Individuals who seeme so hardened and careless as to take away almost all hopes of thei salvation, yes even such, have been happily converted to God.

Saturday, March 27.—Prayer meeting was held this mornin in Armstead's room until nine o'clock and such feeling was mani fested by all. We then attended the Halls and adjourned a shor time before eleven and went to preaching in the chapel. At 3:3 p.m. I attended a meeting of the division of ——— and wa elected F. S. [Franklin Literary Society] for the ensuing term Though the evening was dark and stormy, though the rains an winds and lightning and thunders all seemed to oppose, still we ha an excellent meeting in the chapel at night.

Sunday, March 28.—I have attended class meeting, lov feast, and two sermons today. The Revival is progressing finely

Monday, March 29.—Times are so agreeable about College that he is destitute of the principle of gratitude who does not fee thankful to high Heaven for the wonders he has been doing i our midst recently. And still the good work is progressing. Cir cumstances such as they have been for several days.

Tuesday, March 30.—College proceedings about as yesterday

Wednesday, March 31.—Revival still continues. Other things nearly the same as for several days past.

Mangum was eighteen years old on Thursday, April 1, 1852. His diary for that date carries a long statement concerning his opinion of his own religious condition. While the careful self-examination was probably the result of the revival, his diary makes no direct reference to the progress of the religious excitement on the campus that day.

No references to the revival appear in Mangum's diary after April 2, 1852. Saturday, April 3, was spent in company with friends who came to the campus to visit him. On Saturday evening he attended "a good meeting of the F. S. [Franklin Literary Society]."[70]

G. L. P. Wren was a lay student about twenty-one years old and a member of the junior class when a revival took place at Emory College:

Monday, April 19, 1858.—Yesterday I went to hear preaching, but little did I think of hearing such a sermon as I did. I have often heard Dr. Means preach, but I never heard one so eloquent in all my life. . . . Since night I have been to church and the number of souls striving, I never did see, but many a one found what they were looking for and I hope they may keep it and I can say for myself I have spent a happy time.

Tuesday, April 20.—Being some rain in the fore part of the day we could not meet in the woods for prayer and we met in the Phigamma hall and in a very few minutes there were six or eight converted and we repaired to the church where there were several more converted before we left.[71]

After reading the records, one wonders if colleges anywhere gave more attention to the religious life of students, or succeeded in more thoroughly charging the very atmos-

[70] *Ibid.*, April 3, 1852.
[71] G. L. P. Wren, Diary, Feb. 27, 1858, to May 27, 1859.

phere of academic life with religion, than did the church colleges in the Old South.

Conversions in college revivals, as already demonstrated, were numerous. Of the eighty students in Hampden-Sidney College in 1787, "fully half . . . appeared deeply impressed, and under conviction for their sins" within two weeks after the revival began.[72] Prior to the revival of 1834 at Wake Forest Institute, only seventeen of the seventy students professed religion; but when the revival came to a close, all but seventeen had been converted, and one half of those seventeen were at least concerned about salvation.[73] A revival at Mercer University in 1839 "left out of the church very few except the small students."[74] A revival led by H. G. Leigh at Randolph-Macon College "embraced nearly all the young men" in the institution.[75]

A writer in the *Christian Index* in 1836 described the reaction of students who were not converted in college revivals: "In all literary establishments during a religious excitement, the more careless spirits herd together and endeavor to keep down their fears, and to sustain the dignity of indifference by the measured laugh and the timid ridicule of minds ill at ease."[76] The author concluded, "It is true we have not had much of this, and what little there has been, we have had the happiness of seeing melt away before the power of grace."[77]

No doubt the personal influence of devout professors was an important factor in the conversion and religious growth of students, as the following suggests:

> Contact with him [President W. M. Wingate of Wake Forest College] in daily life not only made me desire to be a better

[72] Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 418.
[73] *North Carolina Baptist Interpreter*, Oct. 4, 1834, pp. 237-238.
[74] *Christian Index*, May 30, 1839.
[75] Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
[76] *Christian Index*, Oct. 13, 1836.
[77] *Ibid.*

man, but it made me feel I was a better man. . . . Somehow, in some way I cannot describe, the feeling gradually grew in my heart that I wanted to serve God because it was right, and that I must leave my old life because it was wrong. The world lost its attraction for me.[78]

Revivals not only converted students, they also turned the minds of many young men toward the ministry and the mission fields. "Of those who afterwards served as ministers, probably not as many as half came to Wake Forest with the ministry in mind; but under the influences that prevailed in the college they were led to devote their lives to this great service."[79] After revivals at Randolph-Macon College "many . . . not only became Christians themselves, but went forth from the college to preach the gospel throughout the Southern land."[80] When Bishop H. N. McTyeire of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was converted, he felt the call to preach "in one of those sweeping revivals" at Randolph-Macon College.[81] In 1858, as a student, Young J. Allen led a revival in Emory College in which several young men decided to enter the ministry; and within two years Allen himself went as a missionary to the Far East.[82] After a revival at the Cokesbury Conference School in South Carolina in 1837, the rector observed some "whose hearts beat high with missionary zeal and who may in some future day raise the standard of the cross high upon some heathen shore."[83]

Practice of Religion Among Students

To what extent did students practice religion in the church colleges of the Old South? According to "The Stu-

[78] L. R. Mills, "My Recollections of Dr. W. M. Wingate," *North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers*, III 161. [79] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 631.
[80] Irby, *op. cit.*, p. 162. [81] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[82] Bullock, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 141, 144; Candler, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 31, 33.
[83] *Southern Christian Advocate*, Dec. 15, 1837.

dent" in the *Randolph-Macon Magazine* of 1852, a few young men who were very religious at home prior to matriculation lost their religion in college. In the same year and in the same college, A. W. Mangum listed eighteen of his twenty-nine sophomore classmates as definitely religious, while two were given to drink and four were "morally weak," "dissolute," and the like. Four of the eighteen religiously minded students were candidates for the ministry, and one of the four professed sanctification.[84]

Some students were very religious. Mangum recorded that very early in life he was impressed with the importance of religion, and was determined to dedicate his life to the service of God and his fellow men.[85] Moreover, he daily sought more of assurance and joy in his religious life.[86] Seventeen years earlier, Brooks at Wake Forest Institute was writing that he was determined to live more like a Christian in the future, "to dispense with so much jesting and unnecessary talk, which is not becoming a Christian, and endeavor to show a better example to my fellow students."[87] He admitted that in his efforts to live a Christian life he was sometimes encouraged and sometimes discouraged.[88] Faw at Normal College vowed in his diary that his great object was to be a good man.[89] He read the Bible and attended church services, and on one occasion when heavy snow prevented preaching services for three successive Sundays, he was afraid that religion like the weather would grow cold. Wren at Emory College testified at a quarterly conference love feast and read a chapter in the Bible each evening.[90]

If Mangum's Sunday schedule was typical, students

[84] Mangum, Diary, July 15 and 23 and Aug. 1, 1852.
[85] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1852.
[86] *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1852.
[87] Brooks, Diary, Aug. 18, 1835.
[88] *Ibid.*, April 30, 1837.
[89] Faw, Diary, Oct. 29, 1854.
[90] Bullock, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-145.

spent much of the Sabbath in religious services. Mangum rose at six o'clock and attended chapel. He then spent an hour before breakfast in Methodist class meeting. After breakfast he went for a stroll with two friends. At eleven he heard a sermon in the chapel and then participated in the Lord's Supper. From two to three-thirty he walked with friends, after which he spent an hour and a half in a love feast. At twilight he went to the chapel to hear a brief sermon, and then took part in a prayer meeting that followed.[91] Thus Mangum attended five religious services on Sunday, and if the Lord's Supper and the prayer meeting be counted as separate functions, the number was seven! Faw did not record his Sunday activities in as much detail as Mangum, but on one Sunday he attended "Sunday school, preaching, class, and prayer meeting."[92]

Students at Wake Forest Institute formed an Inquiry Society for the spiritual welfare of themselves and others. The society decided that shaving on Sunday was inconsistent with Christian character and that letters should not be written on this day, unless they dealt with religious subjects. The matter of sleeping on Sunday was "referred until next meeting."[93] Mangum retired early one Sunday night and rose at 12:30 A.M., Monday, in order to write a composition.[94]

After a "very interesting speech delivered by Professor Armstrong relative to the use of coffee," twenty-six students at Wake Forest Institute resolved to abandon the beverage and substitute molasses and water.[95] The next day Brooks had a bad headache, but he was determined

[91] Mangum, Diary, Sunday, March 14, 1852.
[92] Faw, Diary, Feb. 10, 1856.
[93] Brooks, Diary, June 21 and Aug. 16, 1835.
[94] Mangum, *op. cit.*, April 11, 1852.
[95] Brooks, *op. cit.*, March 28, 1835; *Biblical Recorder*, April 22, 1835.

to try the experiment for three months, because he believed, apparently on Professor Armstrong's authority, that coffee was injurious to health and depressing to the spirit. We have no further record of the experiment.

After talks by the same professor and a minister concerning "the propriety of the disuse of tobacco . . . almost all the students formed themselves into a society and declared they would abandon the use of tobacco."[96]

Chapters of the Sons of Temperance were organized at Wake Forest, and Normal, and probably at other colleges. Faw was an active member at Normal College, and on one occasion made a trip to Salisbury in order to hear an address on temperance.[97] It was claimed that intemperance was unknown at Wake Forest College in 1850.[98]

Just prior to the Civil War, due to religious convictions, a campaign to destroy the writings of infidels in the libraries of college literary societies was begun. In 1857 the works of Paine, Voltaire, and Rousseau at Davidson College were burned; and in 1858 and 1860 the literary societies at Wake Forest College destroyed copies of Paine's books and Boccaccio's *Decameron*, which were found in their libraries.[99] Notwithstanding these crusades against atheism and agnosticism, the literary societies had few definitely religious books in their libraries.[100]

In addition to required attendance at daily prayers and Sunday services, students often conducted prayer meetings of their own. Following a revival at Davidson College in 1857, the students began a weekly prayer service of their own, which continued eighteen months or more

[96] Brooks, Diary, April 23, 1835.
[97] Faw, Diary, May 2 and June 30, 1856.
[98] *Minutes of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention*, 1850, p. 20.
[99] Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 217; Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 529.
[100] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 525.

with an average attendance of forty-five. The literary societies at Wake Forest College were opened and closed with prayer. Ministerial students in Wofford College had charge of the Methodist class and held prayer meetings with the students.

Students at Davidson and Furman colleges organized missionary societies. These groups studied missions, and made financial contributions to the cause.

Ministerial students in the colleges engaged in preaching, and they and lay students participated in and taught Sunday school classes. Faw, a law student, taught a Sunday school class regularly, and his fellow students Cannon and Smoot both taught and preached. Mangum joined the Sabbath School Society at Randolph-Macon College, and walked five miles into the country to teach in a Sunday school. Students at Emory College were members of a similar society, which promoted Sunday schools in the environs of Oxford, Georgia.

What percentage of the students in the church colleges of the Old South were church members? Considering the numerous revivals and the strong emphasis upon religion on the campuses, the proportion officially identified with the church seems small. In 1851 only eighteen out of sixty-two students at Davidson College "were members of the church, in full communion, and gave good evidence of piety."[101] In 1856 the number of church members was twenty-two out of a total of eighty-three. After a great revival at the same college in 1857, only fifteen students were received into the college church. Fifty out of one hundred students at Randolph-Macon College in 1836 were members of the Methodist Church. Churches were organized at Wake Forest in 1835, Davidson in 1837, Mercer in 1839, and Randolph-Macon soon after the

[101] *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina*, 1851, pp. 13, 14.

school opened. Professors and their families and a few others besides students were members of these churches. When they were first organized, the churches had the following numbers of students as members: Davidson, 15; Mercer, 23; Wake Forest, 35.

Conflict Between Science and Religion

The conflict between science and religion in the church colleges of the Old South began long before Charles Darwin published his epochal book *The Origin of Species* (1859). Church leaders were quick to sense the tension between science and religious orthodoxy. Alexander Means, who taught the natural sciences in Emory College, declared in 1848: "Even now a prurient philosophy too often rushes unbaptized upon the work of research in earth and heaven, learnedly upholding nature's laws, but irreverently perverting her simple truths and bribing facts to the support of atheistical dogmas."[102] B. M. Palmer, a South Carolina Presbyterian leader, observed that "the dapper infidelity of our day sits, with a spruce and jaunty air, in the halls of science and in the chairs of philosophy. Too bland and nice ever to distort its features with a sneer, a smile of vanity ever lurking upon its lips, it simply handles and ignores the Bible."[103] A. B. Longstreet, President of Emory College 1839-1849, was on guard against the teaching that the planets were formed when masses of matter were thrown out from the sun. He condemned the science which taught that the Bible is a lie and Jesus Christ an imposter. He believed that all such teaching led to misery on earth and to "immense agony in hell."[104]

[102] Means, *Address Designed to Enforce the Importance of Sanctified Learning and Home Institutions to the South*, June 30, 1848, p. 8.

[103] B. M. Palmer, *Baconianism and the Bible*, Commencement Address at Davidson College, 1852, quoted by Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[104] Bullock, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

Then, as now, many people believed that religion and science could be harmonized. In 1838 R. H. Morrison in his inaugural address as president of Davidson College argued, "There is no inconsistency between science and religion when both are properly understood."[105] Alexander Means announced in the Emory College catalogue that his lectures on geology were designed, in part, "to establish the harmony of geological and astronomical disclosures with the Mosaic Cosmogony, and the announcements of Revelation."[106] Professor Charles H. Judson taught with a similar purpose at Furman University.[107] *Practical Geology and Mineralogy* (1842) by Joshua Trimmer became "almost a classic" in the colleges, because its author was at pains to disclaim any conflict between science and religion. "The discoveries of geology are not opposed to religion." In discussing the biblical account of the flood, Trimmer prophesied that when geological discoveries "shall have had the sanction of another century, or even less, they will not be deemed more dangerous to religion than the discoveries of Newton."[108]

In 1857 the Tombeckbee Presbytery in the Synod of Mississippi, noting that "the most insidious attacks are made upon revealed religion through the natural sciences," recommended the establishment of chairs in theological seminaries for the specific purpose of harmonizing science and religion. Judge John Perkins, of Columbus, Mississippi, gave $50,000 in 1859 for such a professorship in Columbia Theological Seminary. James Woodrow, professor of the natural sciences in Oglethorpe College, was chosen for the place. After the Civil War

[105] *Op. cit.*, p. 6.
[106] *Catalogue of Emory College*, 1853, p. 23.
[107] M. L. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
[108] Joshua Trimmer, *Practical Geology and Mineralogy*, pp. 55, 65, quoted by Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

the Presbyterians began to question Woodrow's orthodoxy concerning the theory of evolution. This heated controversy, resulting in the discharge of Woodrow, so stirred the denomination that the seminary was closed for a year.[109]

[109] W. C. Robinson, *The Columbia Theological Seminary and the Southern Presbyterian Church* (Decatur, Ga., 1931), pp. 179-186, 191; Stacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 ff. For Woodrow's influence on Sidney Lanier, see Philip Graham, "Lanier and Science," *American Literature*, IV, 288-292 (Nov., 1932).

CHAPTER V

Church College and State University

THE STATE UNIVERSITY in the Old South was the result of secular and republican sentiments which appeared in America during the latter part of the Colonial period. The liberalism of the time was deistic, and in some respects antireligious. It called for colleges primarily civil rather than religious in character. Thomas Jefferson, one of the leading exponents of this point of view, succeeded in abolishing the chair of theology at William and Mary College but failed to convert that institution into a state university.[1]

This new theory of higher education, prevalent at the beginning of our national period, was tried in all of the thirteen original states. In the end Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Rhode Island refused to set up state universities. New Hampshire, New York, and Pennsylvania experimented with the idea briefly and dropped it. Six states—Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia—adopted the new plan and founded state universities.[2] The country as a whole was not ready to accept state-supported higher education until after the Civil War.

It is not necessary to give here detailed accounts of the founding of the state universities in the Old South. The University of Virginia was founded under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, and the others were established, in the main, by the efforts of small groups of men, either in control of, or high in, the respective state governments

[1] Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Lipscomb, *op. cit.*, X, 147.
[2] Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

of the time, who were sympathetic toward the view that higher education should be under civil auspices.[3] Dates of state university charters in the Old South are as follows: Georgia 1785, North Carolina 1789, South Carolina 1801, Virginia 1816.

In Virginia church colleges antedated the state university, but in the other states of the Old South the state institutions of higher learning came first. The churches in Virginia, with three colleges already established before or during the Revolution, succeeded in delaying the founding of the Virginia state university, despite Jefferson's powerful influence. They prevented the conversion of William and Mary College into a state university in 1779, and compelled the Virginia legislature in 1797 to repeal the bill which would have converted Liberty Hall into Washington College strictly under state supervision. No doubt the charter for the University of Virginia would have been granted before 1816, had church colleges not already more or less pre-empted the field.

The situation in the other states of the Old South was exactly the reverse. In Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina the state universities, being first, were able to prevent the founding of denominational institutions of higher learning for several years. The Baptists could not obtain a charter for a Baptist college in Georgia in 1804. The Presbyterians were unable to launch a college in western North Carolina in 1820, and the Baptists of the same state almost failed to procure a charter for Wake Forest Institute in 1833. In South Carolina not a church college was chartered until 1850. These failures to secure charters for church colleges were due, in part, to the influence of friends of the several state universities in the state legislatures.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 175; Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

The church colleges in the Old South were, in part, an effort of the religious denominations to offset or rival the influence of the state universities. It can hardly be without significance that the Methodists and Baptists of Virginia began talking seriously about founding Randolph-Macon and Richmond colleges shortly after the opening of the University of Virginia in 1825. The historians of Davidson and Wake Forest colleges claim that Presbyterian and Baptist fear of infidelity at the University of North Carolina was influential in the founding of both schools.[4] Erskine College was started by the Associate Reformed Presbyterians perhaps because they objected to the infidelity of Thomas Cooper, President of the University of South Carolina.[5] The Methodists claimed that they started the Cokesbury Conference School in 1834 because there was no school to which they could send their sons "without risk to their morals."[6] According to Professor E. M. Coulter, in the 1830's, when the religious denominations found that they could not dominate the University of Georgia, they began to build their own colleges.[7]

CHURCH CRITICISM OF STATE UNIVERSITIES

Church criticism of state universities, which began early and continued throughout the period prior to the Civil War, may be classified under several heads.

Many complaints stemmed from the conviction on the part of the church forces that colleges founded by influences more or less hostile to orthodox Christianity, under the control of the states, and, by the terms of the Constitution, divorced from the church, could not or would not

[4] Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Paschal, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
[5] Meriwether, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
[6] *Southern Christian Advocate*, Dec. 11, 1840.
[7] Coulter, *op. cit.*, pp. 206, 221-225.

give proper attention to religion in the educational process. The church people objected to and compelled the resignation of a number of teachers and administrators in the state universities who were not orthodox in their religious views. Thomas Cooper, whose employment as a professor in the University of Virginia was blocked, was later forced out as president of the University of South Carolina, by the criticism of church groups.[8] Josiah Meigs, after serving ten years as president of the University of Georgia, was finally enveloped in "an atmosphere of suspicion and intolerance, political, religious, and educational," and was forced to resign in 1811.[9]

Fear was often expressed that students might lose their religion at the state universities. President Joseph Caldwell admitted that many people considered the University of North Carolina "a parcel of inveterate demons from among the damned."[10] Charles Pettigrew wrote to Caldwell in November, 1797, that he was afraid to send his son to the University of North Carolina because of "the danger of having all fear of the Almighty eradicated from his mind."[11] The *Richmond Christian Advocate* summarized the view of the churches concerning the religious inadequacy of the state universities: "It not unfrequently happened that the professors in the old colleges were tainted with some form of infidelity; and even the pupils, who had not mind nor industry to profit by their instruction, were injured by their opinions and contaminated by their influence."[12]

[8] See the *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine*, III (Feb., 1820), 72-74; Dumas Malone, *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper* (New Haven, Conn., 1926), pp. 339-346; M. LaBorde, *History of South Carolina College* (Columbia, S. C., 1859), pp. 156-158.

[9] Coulter, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-25; Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-176.

[10] *Raleigh Register*, July 24, 1837. See also Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[11] MS Letters, University of North Carolina, 1796-1835, p. 47.

[12] *Richmond Christian Advocate*, March 12, 1857.

The churches, too, feared that education under state auspices would be morally deficient. The church forces sharply criticized the state universities on the ground that their students were lavish spenders who indulged in smoking, drinking, cursing, swearing, cardplaying, dancing, the keeping of game-cocks, and the like.[13] The denominations objected to dancing at state university commencement balls: "Methodist young men are first drawn into the ballroom, and then led to abandon the church of their fathers, by its fascinations. . . . It is proper to call the attention of Methodist patrons of the university to the peril in which they are placing their sons."[14] Major D. H. Hill, who favored church colleges as against state-supported education, was perhaps unjustly critical: "The University of Virginia, under infidel auspices, was a terror to the land, a curse to the cause of education, in fact a nursery of crime and vice."[15]

In the third place, the church people maintained that the state universities were for the rich and the socially élite. In Virginia they claimed that the Literary Fund was for the poor and the university for the rich.[16] According to G. W. Paschal, the names of the graduates of the University of North Carolina before the Civil War, as given in K. P. Battle's history of that institution, "are mostly those of well known and influential families."[17] William Hooper, long a teacher in the University of North Carolina, described most of the students as the sons

[13] See K. P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh, N. C., 1907), I, 349; Paschal, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13, 254; *Biblical Recorder*, Aug. 2, 1855; *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, May 12, 1859.

[14] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, May 12, 1859.

[15] D. H. Hill, *College Discipline*, p. 5. Numerous student riots at the University of Virginia, and the shocking murder of a professor by a student during a riot, no doubt prompted Major Hill's statement.

[16] *Evangelical and Literary Magazine*, V (1855), 184.

[17] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

"of men of considerable property."[18] The University o Georgia "developed the reputation of being a school fo rich boys."[19]

The state universities tried to prevent this criticism by admitting a limited number of poor boys free of tui tion charges and by declaring that their fees were no unduly high. The University of South Carolina mad provision for youths of small means to work their wa through school.[20] In 1836 the trustees of the Universit of North Carolina voted that any native of the state, o good moral character and studious habits, could, at th discretion of the faculty, be admitted free of tuition fee The trustees added: "We hope that hereafter, we shal never hear repeated the unfounded and senseless clamo that this is a 'school for rich men's sons only'!"[21]

At the present time, when church colleges find it har to compete with state universities because the latter ar tax supported, some may be surprised to learn that prio to the Civil War expenses were greater in state universitie than in church colleges. The fact is that all the state uni versities of the Old South charged substantial tuition fees These schools were founded by, and received some appro priations from the state, but they had nothing like th generous financial support from public funds now give the average state university. The state universities i Georgia and North Carolina had very little financial hel from their respective state governments before 1860; th South Carolina and Virginia state universities receive modest support from state funds.

[18] William Hooper, *Address Before the North Carolina Institute o Education at Chapel Hill*, June 20, 1832, quoted by Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 9

[19] Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[20] See MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the University of Geor gia, 1835-1857, Aug. 2, 1856, pp. 392-393; Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 66 *Catalogue of the University of Virginia*, 1853-1854, p. 33.

[21] Quoted in the *Christian Index*, Oct. 20, 1836.

Whether or not the church forces were justified in their claim that the state universities were for the rich, actual fees, to say nothing of other expenses, were one fourth to one third higher in state than in church schools before the Civil War (see Appendix III).

A fourth type of criticism came mainly from Methodists and Baptists, who were displeased because relatively few of their members held professorships in the state universities. Their favorite way of stating this complaint was to compare the numerical superiority of Methodists and Baptists in a given state with their numerically inferior representation on the state university faculty. The *Southern Christian Advocate* pointed out that in 1834 the South Carolina Methodists "with a population of more than 26,000 white members within the conference area, and with an influence which embraced, perhaps five times that number . . . *still had no representation in the Faculty of the State College* [University of South Carolina]."[22] In 1829 Georgia had thirty-two thousand Baptists, twenty-seven thousand Methodists, and three thousand Presbyterians. In the same year the religious affiliation of state university faculty members was as follows: six Presbyterians, one Methodist, one Episcopalian, one Congregationalist, and a few others of no affiliation. Aware of this situation, one Baptist inquired: "Are the Methodists and Baptists all such traitors to the principles of our constitution that they cannot be trusted with the tuition of a class of young gentlemen? Or are they such ignoramuses that they cannot furnish a professor or a tutor?"[23]

In 1830 the Baptists of Georgia protested so much over the election of James P. Waddel, a Presbyterian, to the chair of ancient languages in the University of Geor-

[22] *Southern Christian Advocate*, Dec. 11, 1840.
[23] Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

gia that he withdrew, and the position was then given to James Shannon, a Baptist.[24] In an effort to pacify the Methodists, the trustees of the same institution elected Stephen Olin, a member of the South Carolina Methodist Conference, professor of belles-lettres. Olin accepted, but he still felt that the Presbyterians were too dominant in the school. In order to expose the situation, Olin addressed a letter, which he signed "Friend of Equal Rights," to each member of the state legislature. He considered it odious for one denomination to be predominant in the control of a state university and declared that "it operates as a direct bounty for the encouragement of the favored church, and tends to a ruinous corruption of Christianity."[25]

In 1854 the *Biblical Recorder* complained that of the eighty men who had served on the faculty of the University of North Carolina since its founding, only two had been Baptists.[26] Four years later A. W. Mangum, a Methodist pastor at Chapel Hill, together with the editor of the *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, was agitating for more Methodists on the faculty and on the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina on the ground that the Methodists were staunch friends of the institution and "in numbers and wealth, and intellectual cultivation, the Methodists of the state surpass other denominations."[27]

It cannot be denied that the Presbyterians were dominant in the state universities of the Old South. This situation was due, in part, to the fact that from the beginning the Presbyterians had possessed a profound interest in

[24] James Stacy, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Georgia* (Atlanta, Ga., 1912), p. 106; Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[25] *The Works of Stephen Olin* (New York, 1852), II, 287.

[26] *Biblical Recorder*, March 29, 1854.

[27] Clippings from the *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, dated Sept. 3, 1858, in scrapbook, in possession of Dr. Mangum's daughter, Mrs. N. H. D. Wilson, Chapel Hill, N. C.

education and had educated ministers capable of holding college professorships. In the early days the Baptists and Methodists had neither, but later they developed a genuine interest in education, founded colleges, and trained leaders capable of doing college teaching. Since the Presbyterians had already gained what amounted to almost a monopoly of professorships, it was not easy for other denominations to alter the situation. Hence the complaints of the Methodists and Baptists.

It is not surprising that bad feeling arose between the supporters of church colleges and those who championed state universities. Jealousy, competition, and ill will abounded. Friends of the state universities wished to see their institutions dominate the field. Supporters of church colleges were, if anything, more desirous of seeing church-controlled higher education triumphant.

A committee of the Georgia legislature reported that Mercer, Oglethorpe, and Emory colleges "as at present constituted . . . occupy an intermediate station between a school or academy of the higher order, and a college."[28] The *Christian Index* complained that such a report was "calculated to injure the reputation of" the church colleges.[29] George F. Pierce found that when the churches set out to build their colleges in Georgia "the friends of the State College were alarmed lest these rival institutions should drain its patronage and alienate the confidence of the country."[30]

Both sides boasted of having won the battle for survival. A supporter of the University of Georgia wrote that "notwithstanding the predictions of some" that the institution "would decay and crumble," there were "no signs of the coming fall."[31] On the other hand, the Geor-

[28] *Christian Index*, Dec. 12, 1839. [29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Address at Emory College*, Feb. 23, 1852, p. 15.

[31] A writer in the *Georgia Union Magazine*, 1855, quoted by Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

gia Methodist Conference proudly declared in 1858 that after a long and "desperate struggle" the church colleges had won, that "denominational education has become the fixed and recognized policy of the country," and that "all classes, however skeptical in regard to it . . . or opposed [to] it under the influence of other views of educational policy, must give in their adhesion to it, as the great reliance of the country in the promotion and maintenance of its educational interests."[32]

Attempts were frequently made to compare the superior advantages of church schools with those of state universities. "Philomathes" contributed a series of articles to the *Biblical Recorder* in the summer of 1855 on the "Comparative Advantages of State and Denominational Colleges."[33] In 1853 James H. Thornwell, President of the University of South Carolina, wrote his famous *Letter to His Excellency, Governor Manning, on Public Instruction in South Carolina*, a long and carefully prepared document in which he undertook to point out the advantages of state institutions of higher learning. With regard to the writings of "Philomathes" and Thornwell, it seems significant that in the 1850's the enrollment of the University of North Carolina was steadily increasing, while attendance at the University of South Carolina was declining.

Church colleges and state universities competed for students. When they were admitting poor boys free of tuition charges, the state universities were probably motivated, in part, by the desire to get students who otherwise would go to church colleges where expenses were less. President Alonzo Church blamed the low enrollment at the University of Georgia on the cheap board offered by

[32] *Minutes of the Georgia Conference*, 1858, p. 28.
[33] Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

the church colleges.[34] Probably the employment of William H. McGuffey, a Presbyterian minister, as professor of moral philosophy at the University of Virginia, and the installation of a chair on the evidences of Christianity in the University of South Carolina after the expulsion of President Thomas Cooper, were more due to a desire to restore public confidence in the state universities and recoup losses in enrollment, than to any deep conviction on the part of trustees that there ought to be a closer relation between religion and education in state universities. Augustus B. Longstreet, President of Emory College, set himself the task of gaining public favor and students for his institution, and in a few years boasted that he had succeeded in making Emory "the rival of the State University in reputation and patronage."[35]

A few deplored the ill feeling and competition between church colleges and state universities and tried to improve the situation. It seems significant that the University of North Carolina conferred the degree of master of arts on President Braxton Craven of Normal College in 1851, and that in 1856 the University of Georgia honored James R. Thomas, President of Emory College, with the degree of doctor of divinity. President S. K. Talmage of Oglethorpe College saw the difficulty of teaching religion in state schools, and freely admitted that the state, for its own interest and for the sake of citizens generally, must promote education.[36] At Wofford College's first commencement President W. M. Wightman caustically observed that there were no Methodists on the faculty of the University of South Carolina. In spite of the position taken by Wightman, James H. Carlisle, a young professor of mathematics at Wofford and a graduate of the Univer-

[34] Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [35] Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[36] S. K. Talmage, *Lecture Delivered Before the Georgia Historical Society, February 29 and March 4, 1844* (pamphlet), p. 13.

sity of South Carolina, delivered an address on the same occasion in which he deplored the ill feeling between the state university and the church colleges, and declared, "There is room for all the institutions of those with a different name or faith."[37]

ATTITUDES OF FACULTY MEMBERS TOWARD CHURCH COLLEGES AND STATE UNIVERSITIES

Did professors prefer jobs in church colleges to teaching in state universities? Probably some men remained at their posts in church colleges, though offered, or in a position to seek, more remunerative places in state universities. Perhaps others left professionally more desirable chairs in state schools to take positions in humble, debt-ridden church colleges. But, as a rule, professors left state schools for church colleges when the latter offered promotions, and they turned down jobs in state universities when the calls did not represent clear professional advancement. Moreover, the available evidence seems to indicate that professors were rather loyal to the particular institution in which they happened to be teaching whether it was a church college or a state university.

At a reduction in salary, Landon C. Garland, a layman, left a professorship in Washington College to teach science in Randolph-Macon College, because he was "a Methodist and felt that Methodism had a paramount claim to his services."[38] But in view of the fact that Garland made the change at the time Randolph-Macon was founded, and in view of his later career, one wonders if his denominational loyalty was as pronounced as the Randolph-Macon historian would have us believe. Later Gar-

[37] J. H. Carlisle, "Commencement Address at Wofford College, June 27, 1855," in J. H. Carlisle, Jr., *Address of J. H. Carlisle* (Columbia, S. C., 1910), pp. 56-57.

[38] Irby, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

land served successively as president of Randolph-Macon, president of the University of Alabama, professor in the University of Mississippi, and chancellor of Vanderbilt University.[39]

While a professor in the University of Georgia, Stephen Olin helped to draft a committee report in the Georgia Conference that expressed "full confidence in Franklin College [University of Georgia]," and asserted that the conference would "continue to cherish and promote its interests on all proper occasions."[40] But a few years later, when Olin was president of Randolph-Macon College, he assisted in writing a report in the same conference which declared, "Conscientious parents believe that ignorance is less dangerous than the temptations which throng the higher institutions of learning."[41] Apparently the report condemned the University of Georgia.

In 1848 Reverend Whitefoord Smith, a graduate of the University of South Carolina, delivered an address in which he opposed denominational education on the ground that it was better for a student "not to be separated in the days of youthful training from all who may entertain opposite opinions to himself."[42] A few years later Smith, then a professor in Wofford College, "appeared before the board and informed them that he had been elected to a professorship in the South Carolina College which appointment he should *decline*."[43]

When A. M. Shipp, a Methodist minister and a professor in the University of North Carolina, was elected to the chair of English literature in Wofford College in

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 50. [41] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[42] Whitefoord Smith, *Oration Delivered Before the Euphradian and Clariosophic Societies of the South Carolina College*, Dec. 6, 1848 (pamphlet), p. 9.

[43] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Wofford College, July 7, 1857, p. 22.

1854, he debated the matter a year and then decided to remain at Chapel Hill. But when he was offered the presidency of Wofford in 1859, he accepted.[44]

Soon after becoming a Baptist, William Hooper left the University of North Carolina and began teaching in Baptist schools. His loyalty to the Baptist denomination, however, did not prevent his accepting the presidency of the University of South Carolina, in which position he served from 1840 to 1846.

A few men clearly chose church colleges, while others steadfastly remained in state universities regardless of offers tendered them. Adam Empie gave up the presidency of William and Mary College in 1836 to become rector of the Episcopal School at Raleigh, North Carolina. Major D. H. Hill left a professorship at Washington College to go to Davidson because he desired "to labor in a college founded by the prayers, and by the liberality of Presbyterians," and because he thought that godly parents demanded "something more than the diluted Christianity of our state universities" for their sons.[45] On the other hand, James Phillips, a good Presbyterian, declined to leave the University of North Carolina for a professorship in Davidson College; and Richard Malcolm Johnston, a Baptist, refused the presidency of Mercer University in 1857 and continued as a professor in the University of Georgia. Johnston considered the atmosphere of the state university a more intellectual climate. Furthermore, he did not like the religious dogma and the strict discipline in church colleges.[46]

Ministers who were presidents of state universities, vigorously defended their schools against the attacks of the denominations. Joseph Caldwell would not concede

[44] Shipp, *op. cit.*, p. 568.
[45] Hill, *College Discipline*, pp. 4-5.
[46] Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

that either skepticism or Presbyterianism was in control at Chapel Hill, and though a loyal Presbyterian minister, he would not agree that the church was any better prepared than the state to inculcate religion in the educational process. Alonzo Church at Athens demanded evidence that the public authorities were disposed "to banish Christianity from our schools and colleges."[47] President James H. Thornwell's letter to Governor Manning of South Carolina was perhaps as able and as influential a defense of the state university as was written in the South prior to the Civil War. Thornwell would not teach religion in a state university, but he would employ pious professors and make religion a pervading influence in the institution so as to give tone to its character and regulate properly all its pursuits.[48]

CHURCH COLLEGES AND STATE AID

Today most Protestants object to state aid for denominational schools on two grounds: first, it is contrary to the American principle of separation of church and state; second, if given to denominational primary and secondary schools, it would jeopardize our public schools. But eighty to one hundred years ago strong sentiment favored state aid for church colleges. Many churchmen who objected to state universities and state control of higher education, saw no objection to state aid for church colleges. In fact, they persistently advocated such a policy.

When applying for a charter, the trustees of Hampden-Sidney College asked financial aid of the state of Virginia. No help was given at the time, but a few years later

[47] Alonzo Church, *A Discourse Delivered Before the Georgia Historical Society*, Feb. 12, 1845 (pamphlet), p. 15.

[48] James H. Thornwell, *Letter to His Excellency, Governor Manning, on Public Instruction in South Carolina*, Nov., 1853 (pamphlet), pp. 22-26.

the legislature granted the college 1,612 acres of escheated lands.[49]

In 1821 the Virginia legislature passed an act which provided that when the annual income of the State Literary Fund should exceed $60,000, the surplus would be used for the endowment of such schools as the legislature might direct. This law encouraged church colleges to agitate continually for appropriations. In 1844 church college representatives asked for aid on the ground that their institutions, with an enrollment of 550 as against 128 in the state university, were educating "by far the larger proportion of the youth of Virginia."[50] In 1855 the governor of Virginia recommended that the legislature help the colleges. The legislature rejected all such pleas and recommendations and gave the surplus of the Literary Fund to state primary schools.

Hope of state aid induced the Methodists to locate Randolph-Macon College in Virginia instead of North Carolina,[51] and the trustees of Washington College were motivated by a similar desire when they voted in 1854 that their institution would henceforth be nonsectarian.[52] But the moves were to no avail. Neither college ever received state aid.

Between 1841 and 1855 seven church or private schools in North Carolina received loans ranging from $2,000 to $10,000 from the State Literary Fund. Wake Forest College was the only institution to repay its loan prior to the Civil War. For all practical purposes the loans to the other schools were gifts. In the case of Wake Forest College the loan was repaid only after unsuccessful

[49] Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222; *Calendar of Board of Minutes of Hampden-Sidney College*, 1776-1876, pp. 118, 121, 126, 134, 140-141.

[50] *Memorial of the Convention of Colleges to the General Assembly of Virginia for State Aid*, Jan. 4, 1844 (pamphlet), p. 8.

[51] W. H. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 49. [52] Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

attempts were made to persuade the state to make the loan an outright gift.[53] In 1852 Davidson, Normal, and Wake Forest colleges jointly asked the legislature for appropriations. This request resulted in the introduction of a favorable bill in the legislature, but it failed to pass.[54]

In 1837 and afterwards the church colleges of Georgia sought state aid, but none was granted.[55] Congressman James L. Orr of South Carolina favored state aid for denominational colleges in an address at Furman University in 1855. In commenting on Orr's speech, the *Carolina Spartan* objected to such a policy.[56]

The most surprising state aid for a church college was given to Columbian College in the District of Columbia. In 1830 Luther Rice persuaded the United States Congress to grant the college city lots valued at $25,000 for the endowment of professorships. Later, on petition of the trustees, Congress granted permission to sell the lots and apply the proceeds to the debts of the college.[57]

In view of the widespread and repeated requests for state aid for denominational schools, one is surprised to find the Methodists of South Carolina boasting in 1840 that they had established the Cokesbury Conference School without asking state aid: "Not a dollar was asked or obtained from the treasury of the state."[58]

INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

The state universities of the Old South, stronger and wealthier institutions than the church colleges, were gen-

[53] W. K. Boyd, *The Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund* (pamphlet, 1914), p. 16; MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Wake Forest College, June 6, 1848, p. 70; June 8, 1853, p. 91.

[54] *Biblical Recorder*, Jan. 14, 1853; Paschal, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-374.

[55] Bullock, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70; *Christian Index*, Dec. 12, 1839.

[56] M. L. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 127; *Carolina Spartan*, July 26, 1855.

[57] *Columbian Star and Christian Index*, Sept. 18 and 25, 1830; *Christian Index*, Feb. 9, 1833, and Nov. 21, 1839.

[58] *Southern Christian Advocate*, Dec. 11, 1840.

erally better equipped and more inclined to maintain higher academic standards than the church schools. The state universities did not academically measure up in every particular, but, as a rule, they were alert to the requirements of scholarship and they aspired to meet the demands.

At the University of South Carolina "every effort was made to keep abreast of the times; money was freely given by the legislature, for all recognized that to make the college the equal of any institution in the country money was necessary."[59] The first president of this institution, Jonathan Maxcy, included French in the course of study and considered establishing a professorship in law. On becoming president, James H. Thornwell visited Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and other colleges in the North to gather information that would help him in improving the school.

The same forward-looking spirit was present in the other state universities. Thomas Jefferson wanted the best scholars as professors in the University of Virginia. In 1857 the University of Georgia raised its standards, thereafter requiring candidates for the freshman class to pass examinations on studies which previously admitted students to the sophomore class. The University of North Carolina deplored the fact that freshmen were not adequately prepared in Latin, Greek, and mathematics.

The state universities were notably ahead of the church colleges in the teaching of science. Marked interest in the sciences was evident from the beginning in the state universities. William R. Davie, prominent in the founding of the University of North Carolina, desired to see the school place emphasis on science. Thomas Jefferson wanted Thomas Cooper in the University of Virginia be-

[59] Green, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

cause of Cooper's proficiency in science. The "schools" at the University of Virginia—ancient languages, modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and materia medica, medicine, anatomy and surgery, moral philosophy, and law—obviously included more science than was offered in any church college.[60] Josiah Meigs, first president of the University of Georgia, had taught natural philosophy and astronomy at Yale before going South. The University of South Carolina established a chair of physics in 1811 and one in mineralogy in 1815. This institution built a science hall as early as 1815. Denison Olmsted and Elisha Mitchell, graduates of Yale, joined the faculty of the University of North Carolina in 1817 and became pioneers in experimental scientific study in America. Under their leadership this university became widely known for its interest in science. In 1824 President Joseph Caldwell made a trip to Europe to buy several thousand dollars worth of scientific apparatus for the school.[61]

The state universities in Virginia and North Carolina set the academic pace in the South prior to the Civil War. Church colleges noted what these rivals were doing and were compelled to try to improve their own standards.[62] Some colleges copied the plan of "schools," or departments, in the University of Virginia. Aside from science, courses of study and entrance requirements in state universities and church colleges were quite similar.

The state universities in the Old South, excepting North Carolina, had good libraries for their day. Indeed, the University of Virginia library was one of the best in the country. Thomas Jefferson understood the value of books and gave his own fine collection of seven thousand

[60] See *Catalogue of the University of Virginia*, 1836, pp. 11-17.
[61] See Battle, *op. cit.*, I, 300. [62] See Paschal, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

volumes to the university. Also, this library had adequate support from state funds. Unfortunately, because of restrictions in lending books this library was not as useful to students as it might have been.[63] The second college library building in America was erected at the University of South Carolina in 1840. This library received state appropriations; in addition, each student paid an annual library fee of two dollars.

The trustees of the University of Georgia did not make generous appropriations for the library, but by 1856 the institution contained thirteen thousand volumes. In 1834 the trustees thought there were too many religious books in the library and recommended that the president purchase more works "from other departments of learning and science."[64] The University of North Carolina gave little attention to its library. In 1836 it had only nineteen hundred books, and during the thirty-six year period from 1824 to 1860 no books were added by purchase![65]

Perhaps the spirit of sectionalism was more pronounced in the state universities than in the church colleges. The states founded universities so as to obviate the necessity of their young men going North or anywhere else for an education. In 1785 the Georgia legislature disfranchised those going outside the United States for an education and made them ineligible to hold civil or military office for a term of years equal to their foreign residence.[66]

In 1851 students at the University of South Carolina formed a Southern Rights Association. They noted that the South had been offered insults, and that the Constitu-

[63] Bruce, *op. cit.*, II, 193, 201-204.

[64] Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[65] Battle, *op. cit.*, I, 404 ff.

[66] T. R. Cobb (ed.), *A Digest of the Statute Laws of Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1851), sec. 5, p. 365; W. H. Stiles, *Southern Education for Southern Youth*, 1858 (pamphlet), p. 26. So far as is known, this law was neither enforced nor repealed.

tion had been grossly violated, and they were therefore determined to forward the cause of Southern Rights.[67] Feeling against the North increased. Professor Francis Lieber could not be elected president of the University of South Carolina in 1855 because he favored abolition. For the same reason, after Lieber had gone North, the Euphradian Literary Society of the University of South Carolina erased his name from its rolls and removed his portrait and bust from its hall. There was objection to textbooks written by abolitionists. In 1860 the students resolved not to wear goods of Northern manufacture.[68]

At the University of North Carolina the students burned Professor Benjamin S. Hedrick in effigy while the bell funereally tolled, because he was a "free-soiler" and supported Frémont in the national election in 1856.[69] Hedrick was finally forced to resign.

Literary societies in state universities and church colleges were similar in almost every respect. Each state university, like the church colleges, had two societies, which debated many subjects. In the University of Georgia they decided that Christianity was essential to national prosperity, and that it had contributed more to the world than science. As early as 1836 they concluded that there is no evidence to prove that all human beings descended from the same pair. They saw no objection to attending the theater, though the Methodists in the societies objected.[70] Like those in the church colleges, literary societies competed for members. In South Carolina the rivalry was so intense that it was necessary to divide the counties of the state between the two societies at the University. In that way a prospective student knew in advance which literary society he was expected to join. One youth declined financial help from an old alumnus,

[67] Green, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 268.
[69] Battle, *op. cit.*, I, 654.
[70] Coulter, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-151.

because acceptance would have required him to join the Clariosophic, whereas his home town, Chester, was in Euphradian territory.[71] Victory of one society over the other in debate was the occasion for celebration and even intoxication. Honorary memberships, as in the church college literary societies, were numerous.

Commencements in state universities were important occasions. Because of the presence of state officials and because of the commencement ball, these commencements were more elaborate and more prominent social events than similar exercises in the church colleges. Commencement was comparable to a present-day intersectional football game. In 1856 the trustees of the University of Georgia voted one hundred dollars for music at commencement and only fifty dollars for "periodicals and publications" for the library in the same year.[72] Commencement at the University of South Carolina was held the first Monday in December, a time when the legislature was in session and when all classes of the population were most at leisure. A procession of students, citizens, state officials, and clergy marched from the state house to the college chapel. The order of this procession was fixed by the act of the legislature in 1846. Commencement balls were elaborate and costly; one student wrote home in 1860 that he would be asked for thirty dollars to help defray the expenses of the ball at the University of South Carolina. Often these balls marked the first public appearance of debutantes in society.

More student magazines appeared in state universities than in church colleges. For brief periods in the 1850's students edited the *Oglethorpe University Magazine* and the *Randolph-Macon Magazine*. From 1839 to 1860

[71] Green, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[72] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the University of Georgia, August 6, 1856, p. 386.

three student periodicals appeared sporadically at the University of Virginia, viz., the *Collegian* (1838-1842), *Jefferson Monument Magazine* (1849-1851), and *University Literary Magazine* (1856-1860). The *North Carolina University Magazine* was projected in 1844, but did not carry on. It appeared again in 1852 and continued six years. For the most part these periodicals were media for polite literature and poetry. The *Collegian* advertised that it was to be a literary journal in which "all who choose may have an opportunity of publicly exhibiting their talents."[73]

Considerable interest in military affairs was manifested by the state universities. The University of South Carolina had a cadet company for more than thirty years. It was disbanded in 1856, because in the riot of that year the students procured their guns, which were kept in a public armory off the campus, and threatened a battle with the militia of Columbia.[74] In 1835 the governor of South Carolina recommended the establishment of a chair in civil and military engineering in the university to train engineers and foster the military spirit. The first issue of the *North Carolina University Magazine* in 1844 carried an article about the United States Military Academy at West Point. Faculty regulations at the University of Virginia forbade any kind of military organization among the students. In 1836 seventy students were expelled for forming a military company and firing guns on the campus.

The influence of the church colleges in the Old South was great, but that of the state universities may have been greater. Graduates of the state universities were certainly influential in political and social life. In each of the states of the Old South the state university did more to mold and influence the character of the people than any other one

[73] *Collegian*, I (Oct., 1838), 2.
[74] Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39, 48, 62, 252.

institution. In 1853 President James H. Thornwell claimed that the University of South Carolina had made the state what it was, and the people what they were. These schools were the center not only of education but of political thought. In South Carolina the young politician who received his education elsewhere than at the state university was handicapped, and no measure which the alumni of the university opposed, it was said, could pass in the state legislature.[75] The state university may have been more dominant in South Carolina because it had no church college rivals until 1850, but even so the state universities in the other three commonwealths of the Old South were most influential.

Means of recreation for students in the state universities were limited, but superior in some respects to church colleges. Major A. Penci taught fencing and gymnastics at different times in both the University of Virginia and the University of South Carolina. The latter institution had a small outdoor gymnasium of bars and rings. A few students kept horses, and others engaged in "fisticuffs" as a pastime.[76] At the University of North Carolina the game of marbles was a privilege enjoyed by only seniors.[77] Here, too, the boys played "bandy," a rough but exciting game, and in the winter they enjoyed ice skating on nearby millponds.

In the state universities, as well as in church colleges, pranks and practical jokes were a means of recreation, and the attempts of professors to catch the offenders merely added zest to the escapades. A list of pranks at the University of South Carolina is typical. The lads raided gardens and fowl roosts; they painted the president's horse and shaved her tail; and they tied animals in the chapel. They removed and hid the college bell and then

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 310, 312.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 242.
[77] Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

argued that if it did not ring they were under no obligation to attend classes. They tied lighted fireballs to the tails of animals and gleefully chased them across the campus; and they practiced "blackriding," a diversion in which a group of boys would hire horses, disguise themselves in black robes, and ride about the campus at night bearing torches and making noise.[78]

As in the church colleges, there was not much hazing. Blacking the faces of the new men became the favorite form of introducing them to the life of the campus at the University of South Carolina. The first rule against hazing appeared in this institution in 1853.[79] Secret Greek letter fraternities were introduced in the 1850's. A college choir, organized at the University of South Carolina about the same time, was the forerunner of the glee club and orchestra.[80]

Dancing was permitted at the state university commencement balls, but in the early days especially it seems not to have been countenanced at other times. In the University of South Carolina students were not "to make any ball or festive entertainment, except a ball at commencement; nor shall any student attend or take part in any thing of the kind without the special permission of the president."[81] President Moses Waddel forbade dancing at the University of Georgia, and he fined several students who attended a ball or dancing party. But a commencement ball was held in 1830, the first year after Waddel's resignation.[82]

Aside from commencements and commencement balls, probably state university students had no more opportunity to associate with women than the young men in the church colleges. Charles W. Hutson, of the class of 1860 at the

[78] Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-244; Meriwether, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
[79] Green, *op. cit.*, p. 253.
[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 248-254.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[82] Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

University of South Carolina, wrote that he and a classmate "called on Miss Longstreet." Since she was not at home, they stayed to converse with President and Mrs. Longstreet. Serenading was frequent, and if a student did not play a musical instrument he might hire a fiddler for the occasion.[83]

MORAL LIFE

Moral and disciplinary regulations in the state universities of the Old South perhaps differed little from those in the church colleges. At the University of South Carolina students could be expelled for blasphemy, robbery, dueling, fornication, and forgery. Cardplaying, profanity, obscene language, association with known bad characters, visiting taverns without liberty, lying, stealing, drunkenness, and other gross immoralities were forbidden. Students were not allowed to keep firearms, gunpowder, and spirituous liquors in their rooms. They were required to open their rooms at the command of a faculty member; if not, the professor could break in at the expense of the occupant. The young men were required to give evidence concerning violation of the college laws when asked by the faculty to do so. Smoking was forbidden except in their own rooms. Students were enjoined not to enter into a combination to oppose the authority of the faculty. Only with the permission of the president could the young men keep dogs, horses, mules, and servants.[84] Rules governing the students at the state universities in Georgia and North Carolina varied little from the above regulations.[85]

Regulations at the University of Virginia, especially before 1845, were much less stringent, since Jefferson believed in the freedom of the individual. He considered a strict code for the internal government of a university

[83] Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-248. [84] *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.
[85] See Coulter, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Drake, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-355.

unnecessary; the laws of the land were sufficient. Under his influence, university authorities voluntarily deprived themselves of the power to force young men to depose as in a court of law. Students were not required to take oaths, and, if speaking out when brought before the faculty was repugnant to their sense of right, they were permitted to refuse.[86] But even in this university there were rules. A state law prohibited the young men from contracting debts except with faculty permission. All students were compelled to wear a uniform of dark grey costing not more than six dollars per yard. This regulation was so unpopular that the students rioted against it as early as 1831.[87]

State university students, like those in church colleges, often broke the rules. Wine suppers were frequent, drinking was common, and drunkenness was not uncommon; liquor was freely imbibed during student riots. Students were disciplined for drinking, gambling, stealing, lying, and immorality.[88]

Students settled their own difficulties in fights, sometimes using dirks and bowie knives. A student at the University of South Carolina who killed a man in a fight at a circus about 1837, was tried and acquitted and allowed to finish his college course.[89]

No duels occurred among students in church colleges, but there were several in the state universities. Duels took place at the University of South Carolina in 1807, 1808, 1832, and in the 1850's. In 1832 one student was killed and another wounded. At times young men were suspended or expelled for this offense.[90] In 1839 a citizen of Athens challenged Professor Charles F. McCay of the

[86] Bruce, *op. cit.*, II, 311.
[87] *Catalogue of the University of Virginia*, 1836, p. 20; Bruce, *op. cit.*, II, 301.
[88] Green, *op. cit.*, p. 247; Drake, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-355.
[89] Green, *op. cit.*, p. 246. [90] *Ibid.*, pp. 244-246.

University of Georgia to a duel. McCay accepted, but the duel did not take place. Several trustees then tried to remove McCay from the faculty on the ground that if dueling were permitted among the faculty, it could not be suppressed among the students. McCay was apparently willing to resign, but he remained when the trustees voted eight to seven in his favor.[91]

General disorders and riots occurred in state universities. Occasionally the Columbia militia was called out to quell student riots at the University of South Carolina.[92] In 1853 the "Biscuit Rebellion" at this institution was so serious that it resulted in the expulsion or withdrawal of all but about thirty students. The young men desired a change in the commons system and secretly pledged themselves to withdraw from school if their wishes were not granted.

Riots at the University of Virginia were very serious. Three such disturbances occurred in one year soon after the institution opened. At times there was considerable shooting on the campus during riots. In 1840 the public was shocked because a professor at the University of Virginia, John A. G. Davis, was murdered by a pistol shot fired by a student in a riot.[93] This unfortunate incident gravely damaged the prestige and the material prosperity of the university and resulted in a steadily decreasing enrollment for several years. Another protracted riot in 1845 moved the trustees to make a decided change in policy; they invited a Presbyterian minister, William H. McGuffey, to the chair of moral philosophy, hoping to restore public confidence in the school by bringing in a

[91] MS Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the University of Georgia, Nov. 11, 1839, p. 77; Aug. 3, 1840, pp. 85-91; MS Minutes of the Prudential Committee of the Board of Trustees of the University of Georgia, Jan. 9, 1840, p. 11.

[92] Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 62.

[93] Bruce, *op. cit.*, II, 309.

definite religious influence. The move achieved the desired results.[94]

Notwithstanding their disorderliness and their concerted efforts to throw off faculty restraints, students in both church colleges and state universities had a code of honor. James H. Carlisle, President of Wofford College and a member of the class of 1844 at the University of South Carolina, observed that students seemed to draw a well-defined circle within which were the things counted mean and low. He added, however, that the radius of the circle was rather short.[95] Joseph LeConte, professor at the University of South Carolina from 1841 to 1860, considered the students turbulent but honorable. They would not lie to each other nor to the faculty, and they would not cheat on examinations.[96] By the 1840's students in this university were handling certain breaches of honor among themselves. Youths charged with lying or stealing were tried by their own class and, if found guilty, were expelled from the class. Just prior to 1860 one man was expelled from his class for stealing. Since the faculty did not require his departure from the school, he continued his studies until he graduated, but "not a man of the student body would have any communication with him as long as he remained in the college."[97]

Like those in the church colleges, students in state universities were sensitive in regard to what they considered their rights. Youths who were ordinarily quite amenable to faculty regulations, would join a riot if they believed the faculty was trespassing on student rights. Charles Woodward Hutson, of the class of 1860 at the University of South Carolina, would have nothing to do with attempts to shield students who had participated in a "blackride"; he was disgusted with the rowdyism and

[94] *Ibid.*, III, 118.
[95] Green, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 259.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

the attempts to protect the guilty parties. But Hutson did not hestitate to join his fellows in refusal to attend class when student rights were at stake. When a professor gave a public lecture in Columbia at night, it was customary for that professor's first class on the following morning not to meet. After delivering such a lecture, President C. F. McCay announced that his first class would meet as usual the next morning. Hutson entered into an agreement with other students not to attend. Writing his mother about the incident, he explained, "So you see, when I rebel, 'tis with some right on my side, as far as professional judgment can make a thing right."[98] Students always objected to faculty efforts to run down a culprit by calling up the entire student body and questioning every man in turn. Under such circumstances students in the University of Virginia were not required to speak; in other state universities they were expected to tell the truth when questioned.

An inchoate honor system was instituted at the University of Virginia in 1842 by Henry St. George Tucker, chairman of the faculty. Tucker concluded that suspicious surveillance of students during examinations and the rules requiring students to wear uniforms and to rise early every morning were not good. The odious ordinances were then revoked. Thereafter students appended the following pledge to examination papers, "I, A. B., do hereby certify on honor that I have derived no assistance during the time of this examination from any source whatever, whether oral, written, or in print, in giving the above answers."[99] It should be said, however, that this was not exactly the honor system as understood and used today. Examinations were still conducted under the old rules. Only students taking the examination were permitted in the room; all communication between examinees was forbidden;

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[99] Bruce, *op. cit.*, III, 53-54.

books could not be used; each member had to appear for the examination within ten minutes after the bell rang; none could leave the room; and each had to sign the pledge.[100]

Written examinations were introduced in the University of South Carolina in 1854, and thereafter each student was required to sign a pledge that he had received no assistance while writing his paper. President James H. Thornwell is credited with building the sentiment that afterward made the honor system effective.[101]

Were discipline and morals better in the church colleges than in the state universities? Perhaps so. There is no record of dueling in the church colleges. Student riots were not unknown in the church schools, but apparently they were not as violent as those in state universities where at times the militia was called out to stop the riots. In the church colleges may be found no parallel to the murder of Professor John A. G. Davis at the University of Virginia. Richard Malcolm Johnston's decision to remain as a professor at the University of Georgia rather than accept the presidency of Mercer University because of the strict and narrow rules of discipline at the latter institution, seems to indicate closer attention to, and better control over, student conduct in the church colleges. Finally, the public believed that disciplinary and moral conditions were better in the church colleges.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

The state universities gave attention to religion. With the exception of the University of Virginia in its early years, it seems certain that those in charge of the state schools did not interpret the constitutional provisions regarding separation of church and state to mean that education should be completely dissociated from religion.

[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

[101] Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-260.

The people may have been willing to try higher education under civil rather than religious control, but they were still unwilling to divorce education from religion. They did not believe that education could make for a moral society without religion.[102]

One may point out that the state universities were compelled to give attention to religion. From the beginning the religious forces were so strong that the deistic, and sometimes antireligious, liberals who had a part in the founding of the state universities were not allowed to ignore religion. The religious forces, by criticism and by pressure exerted in various ways, prevented the engagement, or compelled the resignation, of agnostics as professors and presidents of state universities. When more pious professors and administrators were employed, the churches approved.

While Jefferson was determined that the University of Virginia should be completely under civil control, and while he had little regard for the religious denominations of the time, he did not object to religion per se on the campus. He himself was religious, though not according to the orthodoxy of the time. Perhaps he was shrewd enough to see that a factor as deeply rooted in human life as religion, and an institution as influential in human society as the church, could not be fully ignored when establishing a state university. At any rate, while Jefferson's original plan did not call for a professor of divinity in the university, still Hebrew, Latin, and Greek were to be taught, and the professor of ethics was to deal with the proof of the being of God and the divine authority of morals. The plan provided further that if any denomination should establish a theological seminary near the university, its students were to be admitted to the

[102] See Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, p. 165; Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, 255.

university courses on the same terms as others. Still again, a room was to be set aside for religious worship in the rotunda of the university under regulations allowed to be prescribed by law.

Jefferson's ideal of a civil university free from sectarian influence was not realized, although during the first twenty years the denominations had little influence in the University of Virginia and religion was not prominent on the campus. With the coming of W. H. McGuffey to the faculty in 1846, a denominational influence was introduced and forms of piety prevailed in the institution.

In the other three state universities of the Old South daily prayers were held and signs of denominational influence were evident from the beginning. Attendance at morning and evening prayers in the chapel was compulsory. The president or others appointed by him led the worship. The importance of chapel prayers is suggested by the fact that attendance at these periods of worship was the first item on student report cards at the University of North Carolina.[103] In 1831 about twelve of the seventy-three students in this school had perfect prayer attendance records; the rest were absent from prayers one to thirty-five times, about one third of them remaining away ten or more times. The records indicate that regular attendance by both students and faculty was maintained with some difficulty, and that chapel prayer time was often the occasion for misdemeanors on the part of students.

At the University of Virginia no daily prayers were held until the coming of McGuffey to the faculty in 1846, although at times some students on their own initiative held group prayer meetings in dormitories and boarding-

[103] MS Reports from the Faculty to the Trustees of the University of North Carolina, 1796-1835, unpaginated.

houses. Even after McGuffey instituted daily prayers, attendance was purely voluntary, and at no time was attendance at religious services in the University of Virginia compulsory.[104]

For thirty years, 1846-1876, McGuffey kept an album in which he recorded the name, home address, and denominational preference of every student who regularly attended his morning prayer services. Ten students attended prayers in 1846, and the number increased each year until 1859-1860, when sixty-five participated. With few exceptions all listed in the album were members of one of the four major religious denominations.[105] A Young Men's Christian Association, the first in the South, was established at the University of Virginia in 1858.

Chaplains were appointed in the state universities. In the Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina universities, a member of the faculty served in this capacity. At the University of Virginia ministers of churches in Charlottesville at first held religious services on the campus at the invitation of students and professors. After a few years the faculty and interested students raised enough money by private subscription to maintain a full-time chaplain. The tenure of office was for two years, the chaplains coming in rotation from the four major religious denominations.

Attendance at Sunday church services was required in the state universities, excepting always the University of Virginia. Usually students were allowed to choose between services in the university chapel and services in the churches near by. On Sunday afternoon at the University of North Carolina students were examined on what they

[104] Bruce, *op. cit.*, III, 137.

[105] See MS Album Containing Names of Students Who Regularly Attended Prayers at the University of Virginia, 1846-1876.

had heard at the morning service, or recited on the Bible or on some other religious course.

Sunday Bible classes were provided for students in the Virginia and North Carolina universities, attendance being voluntary in the one institution and compulsory in the other. A Sunday School and Bible Society was organized at the University of Virginia about 1835. Soon after McGuffey joined the faculty, he persuaded Professor John B. Minor of the law school to give lectures on the Bible at nine o'clock on Sunday mornings. Attendance of course was voluntary, but one young man observed that since Minor looked with special favor and interest upon those in his department who attended, few of the law students failed to be present!

The Sabbath was rather strictly observed in the state universities. According to the rules, students at the University of South Carolina could not play musical instruments, engage in sports, lounge under the trees, or gather in groups for amusement or conversation on Sunday. Charles W. Hutson, of the class of 1860, wrote to his father in 1857: "On Sunday we read the Bible, sit down listlessly or talk idly, besides going to church twice in the day; but we do nothing very wrong, and don't even study, as is the fashion here."[106]

Ministerial students received special courtesies in the state universities. In 1822 the University of Georgia decided to admit free of tuition annually five ministerial students "pious and meritorious and unable to defray the usual expenses of education."[107] Soon after the University of Virginia was established, professors began admitting ministerial students to their classes without charge. Notices concerning this courtesy appeared regularly in the catalogues.

[106] Green, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[107] Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

In addition to the Sunday Bible classes, the state universities gave courses in religion similar to those in the church colleges. Textbooks at the University of Georgia were Paley's *Moral Philosophy* and Alexander's *Evidences of Christianity*. All classes were required to recite "in Greek or French Testament, or on Natural Theology, on every Monday morning."[108] Textbooks at the University of North Carolina were Francis Wayland's *Moral Science* and Abercrombie's *Inquiries Concerning the Intellectual Powers*. The senior class recited on moral philosophy and metaphysics three times a week. Freshmen and sophomores read some of the Gospels in Greek. When the chair of religion was established at the University of South Carolina in 1835, juniors and seniors were required to take the courses offered.

Revivals occurred in the state universities, although they were not as frequent as in church colleges. A revival at the University of North Carolina in 1834 was perhaps the first after the opening of the institution.[109] A sweeping revival occurred at Chapel Hill in 1858 under the leadership of A. W. Mangum, twenty-four-year-old pastor of the Methodist Church in the community. Apparently the services were held in the Methodist Church, but the excitement spread to the campus. Sixty students and fifty-two other persons were converted; twenty-three of the students joined the Methodist Church, while some united with other churches.

President Moses Waddel once dismissed all classes from Thursday to Monday so that students could attend a Methodist camp meeting. The next year when a vacation of two days was given for a similar purpose, some students stayed at the camp meeting four days and were fined one dollar each. One student, who was refused permission to go to a camp meeting, attended, and was ex-

[108] *Catalogue of the University of Georgia*, 1850.
[109] *Baptist Magazine*, V (Feb., 1835), 61.

pelled by the faculty on the ground that his zeal was out of proportion to reason. Forty students were converted in and around Athens in 1826.

In 1858 one of the greatest revivals in an educational institution took place at the University of Georgia. The excitement continued for five weeks, and came to an end only when professors, preachers, and the populace were worn out with fatigue. Several services were held daily in the literary society halls and in the churches. President Alonzo Church and members of the faculty assisted the ministers of the town with the preaching. Before the revival only two professors were church members and only one student was a seeker of religion. When the revival fires died out, the Methodists had gathered ninety new members, the Baptists forty-one, the Presbyterians fifty, and the Episcopalians eleven.[110]

Students at the University of Virginia were affected by at least one revival. In 1853 the Reverend John A. Broadus, pastor of the Baptist Church in Charlottesville, began a series of lectures on the Apostle Paul which created a sensation, and filled his church to overflowing with professors and students. The result was that twenty or more students were converted in these services.

It is interesting to note that all the faculty at the University of North Carolina except two who were Methodists, and all the pastors in Chapel Hill, opposed the revival led by A. W. Mangum in 1858. Apparently they objected to the emotionalism which the young Methodist minister aroused.[111] In spite of the opposition, President David L. Swain asserted that the revival was the most important occurrence of the year and that the number of accessions to the churches and the apparent sincerity of the converts were without precedent in the university.

[110] Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[111] Report by A. W. Mangum, dated Sept. 3, 1858, in the *North Carolina Christian Advocate.*

The other denominations, too, were glad to receive the new members that came as the result of the Methodist revival.[112]

The personal influence of some professors was an important factor in the religious life of students. Many students in the University of South Carolina owed their religious conversion to James H. Thornwell, who was first a professor and later president of the institution. During his last year as president, Thornwell published a series of *Discourses on Truth*, which he had delivered in the chapel. Professor R. W. Barnwell in the same school attempted a prayer meeting with the students, and Joseph LeConte conducted a Bible class.

The denominations were quick to recognize the advantage of churches strategically located in state university centers. As early as 1817 Hope Hull, a local Methodist preacher, was instrumental in getting the trustees of the University of Georgia to offer a half acre of ground to the first religious denomination to build a church in Athens. The next year the Methodists erected a church and the trustees were faithful to their promise. Later they gave a half acre to the other major denominations for churches. As the fortunes of the Episcopal School at Raleigh, North Carolina, waned, the leaders of that denomination stressed more and more the necessity of an Episcopal church at Chapel Hill to minister to Episcopalian students in the university.

The state universities were not godless. They gave considerable attention to religion, though the church colleges placed much more emphasis on this aspect of life. Revivals were more frequent and more welcome in the church colleges than in the state universities. Religion more thoroughly permeated the atmosphere of the church colleges.

[112] See Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 331. *Journal of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of North Carolina*, 1859, p. 51.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusions

The Anglican (Protestant Episcopal) and Presbyterian churches were committed to the support of education from the beginning. They maintained high educational qualifications for their ministers, and they were leaders in the field of education. Largely because of the lack of numerical strength and wealth following disestablishment in 1784, the Episcopalians were able to establish only one college, William and Mary, in the Old South prior to the Civil War. The Presbyterians established Hampden-Sidney, Liberty Hall (Washington and Lee), Davidson, Oglethorpe, and Erskine colleges, and two theological seminaries.

Long before the Civil War, the Methodists and Baptists developed an interest in education and achieved numerical superiority, as compared with Presbyterians and Episcopalians in the Old South, but the former did not succeed in wresting intellectual leadership from the latter during this period.

In the main, the Baptists were at first opposed to education, particularly theological education. But at the First Triennial Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1814, the denomination became officially committed to the support of education. The rising tide of interest in foreign missions compelled attention to the education of missionaries and, incidentally, to the education of ministers and laymen. The Baptists established Columbian College (George Washington University), Wake Forest College, Richmond College (University of Richmond), Furman and Mercer universities, and the Southern Baptist Theo-

logical Seminary in the Old South before the Civil War. But, throughout the South before 1860, much opposition to education was manifested by this denomination.

As a result of the strong interest in education and the effective leadership of such men as John Wesley in England and Bishops Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury in America, the Methodists projected several schools in this country soon after the denomination was organized (1784). None of these early schools survived. Because of the death of John Wesley in 1791, and possibly because of the waning influence of Bishop Thomas Coke in this country after 1800, the interest of American Methodists in education lapsed for a time. Between 1796 and 1820 the Methodists did little or nothing officially as a denomination on behalf of education. But at the General Conference of 1820 the Methodists officially committed their church to the support of education. The General Conference recommended that each annual conference establish schools within its bounds. Thereafter Methodist interest in education increased rapidly. Prior to the Civil War this denomination established Randolph-Macon, Emory and Henry, Trinity (Duke University), Wofford, Emory, Greensboro, Columbia, La Grange, and Wesleyan colleges in the Old South. Throughout the period the Methodists strongly opposed theological seminaries.

The churches were moved by several motives and ideals in establishing colleges. Without doubt the primary aim in the founding of these institutions was the education of ministers. Second, they considered education a function of the church. Third, they desired to lower the cost of education and bring it within reach of the common man. Fourth, they felt that the church as a strong and important part of the body politic was in a position to render, and ought to render, service in the field of edu-

cation. Fifth, church colleges were considered vital factors in keeping students loyal to their respective denominations. Sixth, colleges were important and strategic agencies for the building of denominational prestige and the extension of denominational views. Seventh, colleges were made to serve the interests of denominational rivalry. Eighth, colleges were an important means of evangelism. Ninth, to some extent colleges in the South served sectional interests. Tenth, the churches built colleges to offset and rival the influence of state universities in the Old South.

On the whole the academic standards of the church colleges were not high. Libraries and facilities for teaching the sciences were meager. The curricula emphasized ancient languages and mathematics.

Apparently students came mostly from middle class homes. In mental capacity the youths ranged from dull to bright. The professors tried to instill ambition into the hearts of the young men, and their efforts were reasonably successful. The students enjoyed public speaking and debating in the literary societies. Many of the topics debated are indicative of sophomoric minds. For the most part the youths followed the lead of their elders in their attitudes toward sectionalism and slavery. There was in the colleges considerable opposition to secession. The great majority of the students entered the ministry, law, teaching, medicine, agriculture, and merchandising. Professors and graduates of the church colleges did considerable writing. A few achieved distinction in the field of letters.

There were no intercollegiate sports in the Old South, and recreational activities were not encouraged in the colleges. Apparently it was assumed that the young men would devise ample ways and means of physical recreation

and fun-making. Walking, footracing, jumping matches, wrestling, marbles, bandy, and the like, were the most common means of diversion. To these must be added pranks and practical jokes, which seem to have served as escape valves for the pent-up energies of the young men. There was no co-education, and the young men had few opportunities for association with women during the school year.

Careful attention was given to the moral life of students. Many church colleges were established in out-of-the-way places with the aim of shielding the morals of the young men. Detailed disciplinary rules and regulations were listed in the college catalogues. Students were required to read these rules, and in some instances they were required to say in the presence of the faculty and the student body that they would obey them. Quarterly reports to parents and guardians usually listed deportment ahead of scholarship and other items. The schools experienced considerable difficulty in enforcing the rules. Students continually tried to outwit the professors, and often succeeded. There were occasional strikes and riots in the church colleges.

The church colleges made religion a part of the daily routine. Chapel services were held twice daily, and attendance was compulsory. The Sabbath was strictly observed. Powerful revivals were frequent. Sometimes these seasons of religious excitement were so overwhelming as to stop the college routine for a week or more. There was some formal teaching of the Bible and other religious subjects in the colleges, but not so much as one would expect in view of the earnest desire of the church forces to have their own colleges in which they could properly unite religion and education. There was considerable interest in harmonizing science and religion.

In those commonwealths of the Old South where state universities were founded before church colleges, the establishment of the latter was delayed; but in Virginia, where church colleges appeared first, the founding of the state university was of necessity postponed. Thus from the beginning there was rivalry between the two types of institution.

The church forces were sharply critical of the state universities. They believed that higher education under any other than church auspices would be morally and religiously deficient. Friends of the church colleges continually deplored dancing, cardplaying, and extravagant living in the state universities. Methodists and Baptists were critical because the Presbyterians seemed to have almost a monopoly of professorships in the state universities. The church forces claimed that the state universities were institutions for the sons of the rich. There was competition between the church colleges and the state universities for students. The church colleges often agitated for state aid, but they received practically no help from the legislatures.

The state universities were stronger and wealthier institutions than the church colleges. Nearly all the church schools were burdened with debt and had little or no endowment. On the whole, academic standards were higher in the state universities than in the church colleges. The state schools were notably superior in facilities for the teaching of science. The curricula in state universities and church colleges were similar.

The spirit of sectionalism was more prominent in the state universities than in the church colleges. While the rules governing student conduct were about the same in church colleges and state universities, it seems that the church college students had a better record in this field than the youths in the state universities.

The state universities gave considerable attention to religion, and there seems little basis for the charge that they were godless institutions. However, religion received more emphasis in the church colleges. The revivalistic religion of the time was more vitally related to the educational process in the church colleges than in the state universities.

Appendices

APPENDIX I

Course of Study at Randolph-Macon College, 1842[1]

FRESHMAN CLASS

First Term—Xenophon's Cyropedia, commenced (Leipsic); Livy (Folsom); Virgil, The Georgics (Gould); Algebra, through Quadratics (Bourdon); Antiquities (Eschenburg); Latin Exercises (Andrews).

Second Term—Herodotus (Leipsic); Tacitus (Leipsic); Algebra, completed (Bourdon); Geometry, commenced (Legendre); Ancient Geography and Mythology (Eschenburg); Latin Exercises (Andrews).

SOPHOMORE CLASS

First term—Homer (Leipsic); Horace, begun; Geometry, completed (Legendre); Trigonometry, plane (Garland); Mensuration (Garland); Latin and Greek Exercises (Andrews and Sophocles).

Second Term—Demosthenes or Aeschines, two orations (Leipsic); Horace, Satires, Epistles and Art of Poetry; Navigation and Surveying (Day); Trigonometry, Spherical (Garland); Analytical Geometry (Young); Classical Literature (Eschenburg); Terence, one play; Logic (Hedge); Greek Exercises (Sophocles).

JUNIOR CLASS

First Term—Euripides, two plays (Leipsic); Cicero de Officiis or de Oratore, or Brutus; Differential and Integral Calculus (Young); Chemistry, commenced (Turner); Classical Literature (Eschenburg); Greek Exercises (Sophocles).

Second Term—Sophocles or Aeschylus, two plays (Leipsic); Juvenal or Perseus (Boston Edition); Mechanics, Statics (Bour-

[1] *Catalogue of Randolph-Macon College*, Oct., 1842.

charlat); Chemistry, completed (Turner); Rhetoric (Blair); Classical Literature (Eschenburg); Greek Exercises (Sophocles).

SENIOR CLASS

First Term—Moral Philosophy (Wayland); Political Economy, commenced (Wayland); Mechanics, Dynamics, (Bourcharlat); Hydrostatics (Bourcharlat); Pneumatics (Bourcharlat); Optics (Brewster); French, commenced (Brewster).

Second Term—French, completed; Mental Philosophy (Upham); Political Economy, completed (Wayland); Astronomy (Gummere).

Lectures on Mineralogy, Geology, Magnetism and Electro Magnetism.

Declamations, Compositions and Translations are required throughout the course; and the members of the Senior Class pronounce Orations of their own composition.

Lectures are delivered at stated times upon the most important subjects of the course.[2]

Course of Study at Davidson College, 1848[3]

FRESHMAN CLASS

Cicero, (four orations); Livy; Horace, (Odes); Graeca Majora, (Xenophon's Cyropedia and Anabasis); Lacroix's Arithmetic; Bourdon's Algebra; Legendre's Geometry; Geography, ancient and modern, renewed.

SOPHOMORE CLASS

Horace, (Satires and Epistles); Cicero de officiis, and de immortalitate animi; Graeca Majora, (Herodotus; Thucydides; Lysias; Demosthenes; Xenophon's Memorabilia; and Plato); Fisk's Classical Antiquities; Algebra and Geometry, completed; Trigonometry, plain and spherical; Mensuration; surveying; navigation; logic and rhetoric.

[2] The cost of the French course was five dollars per term extra. The class in 1856 was "quite large" (*Catalogue of Randolph-Macon College*, 1856, pp. 21-22).

[3] *Davidson College Catalogue*, 1848, p. 10.

JUNIOR CLASS

Horace, (Art of poetry); Tacitus; Cicero de Oratore; Graeca Majora, (Sophocles and Euripides); Homer, (Iliad); Analytical and Descriptive Geometry; Natural philosophy; astronomy; mineralogy; geology; political economy.

SENIOR CLASS

Juvenal; Graeca Majora, (Longinus and Aristotle); Chemistry; Differential and Integral Calculus; Astronomy, completed; Mental Philosophy; moral philosophy; law of nations; Evidences of Christianity; general review.

Translations from English into Latin and Greek, required in the three lower classes.

Original Essays by the members of each class, monthly. Declamation, monthly, of selected pieces, by the members of the three lower classes, and of original compositions by the senior class.

Course of Study at Mercer University, 1849-1850[4]

FRESHMAN CLASS

First Term—Livy; Xenophon's Anabasis; Greek and Roman Antiquities (Smith's Dictionary); Andrew's Latin Exercises; Arnold's Greek Prose Composition; Algebra (Day's); Rhetoric (Newman's).

Second Term—Livy, continued; Cicero de Officiis; Herodotus; Algebra, completed; Geometry (Davies' Legendre); Rhetoric, continued.

SOPHOMORE CLASS

First Term—Horace, Satires and Epistles; Demosthenes on the Crown; Geometry, completed; Plane, Solid, and Spherical.

[4] *Catalogue of Mercer University*, 1849-1850. In 1840 the trustees of Mercer University considered the establishment of a professorship of agricultural science, but for lack of funds postponed the plan. It was believed that such a professor "would greatly enhance the value of our lands, improve the students, and render more popular one of the most honorable employments of man" (*Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention*, 1840, p. 8). In 1852 a "scientific course of study" was adopted at Mercer University "for those who may not have the time, the ability, or the inclination to study the ancient languages" (*ibid.*, 1852, p. 8).

Second Term—Horace, Art of Poetry and Odes; Cicero de Oratore; Homer's Iliad; Plane and Spherical Trigonometry; Davies' Legendre; Surveying (Davies'); Conic Sections, (Bridge's).

JUNIOR CLASS

First Term—Cicero de Oratore, continued; Xenophon's Memorabilia; Differential and Integral Calculus; Natural Philosophy (Olmsted's); Rhetoric (Blair's).

Second Term—Andrian of Terence; Prometheus of Aeschylus; Natural Theology (Paley's); Natural Philosophy, continued; Chemistry (Silliman's); Logic (Whatley's).

SENIOR CLASS

First Term—Astronomy (Olmsted's); Intellectual Philosophy (Upham's); Evidences of Christianity (Paley's); Elements of Criticism (Kames'); Gorgias of Plato; Juvenal.

Second Term—Botany; Physiology; Geology; Moral Philosophy (Wayland's) Butler's Analogy; Political Economy (Wayland's); American Constitution, or International Law.

Courses of Study at Greensboro College, 1858-1859[5]

FRESHMAN CLASS

Arithmetic; English Grammar; Geography; Spelling and reading; United States History; Composition; Philosophy of natural history; Treasury of Knowledge; Mythology.

SOPHOMORE CLASS

Algebra; Physiology; Ancient geography; Universal history; Composition; Latin; French; Natural Philosophy; Botany.

JUNIOR CLASS

Geometry; Mental Philosophy; Logic; History; Composition; Latin; French; Chemistry; Rhetoric.

[5] *Catalogue of Greensboro College*, 1858, pp. 18-19.

SENIOR CLASS

Trigonometry; Moral Science; Astronomy; Political Economy; Composition; Latin; French; Evidences of Christianity; Constitution of the United States.[6]

[6] In colleges for women music, drawing, painting, needlework, and the like, were elective and were offered only on the payment of extra tuition. In some schools girls desiring to pursue only these particular courses were allowed to register as special students.

APPENDIX II

TABLE 1

THE OCCUPATIONS OF GRADUATES OF RANDOLPH-MACON COLLEGE, 1835-1857*

Occupations	Total
Ministers	46
Lawyers	38
Teachers	37
College presidents	7
College professors	9
Physicians	29
Farmers	37
Merchants or other business	6
Engineers	2
Total Graduates	224

**Catalogue of Randolph-Macon College*, 1858-1859, pp. 6-12. See also, Richard Irby, *A History of Randolph-Macon College*, pp. 79-83.

TABLE 2

THE OCCUPATIONS OF GRADUATES AND NONGRADUATES OF RANDOLPH-MACON COLLEGE, 1835-1920*

Occupations	Graduates	Nongraduates	Total
Ministers	178	331	509
Lawyers	140	45	185
Physicians	97	77	174
College presidents	32	4	36
College professors and instructors	109	20	129
Other teachers	202	32	234
Missionaries	13	3	16

**Professional Distribution of Alumni of Randolph-Macon College* (leaflet), published by Randolph-Macon College, 1920.

TABLE 3

THE OCCUPATIONS OF GRADUATES AND NONGRADUATES OF DAVIDSON COLLEGE, 1837-1889*

Occupations	Graduates	Nongraduates	Total
Ministers	181	65	246
Teachers	91	64	155
Farmers	81	239	320
Lawyers	79	87	166
Physicians	69	100	169
Merchants	36	120	156
Bankers, Brokers, etc.	19	26	45
College presidents and professors	16	14	30
Engineers, Chemists	12	12	24
Druggists	11	14	25
Manufacturers	10	20	30
Editors	6	9	15
Miscellaneous	10	42	52
Totals	621	812	1,433
Repeated	42	40	82
Net Total	579	772	1,351
None or unknown	20	433	453
Grand Total	599	1,205	1,804

**Semi-Centennial Catalogue of Davidson College*, 1891, p. 168.

APPENDIX III

TABLE 1

SOME COMPARISONS OF YEARLY COSTS AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY AND THE CHURCH COLLEGES IN NORTH CAROLINA

Items	Year	University of N. C.	Wake Forest College	Davidson College	Trinity College
	1833	$ 42	$	$	$
	1836				
	1838	50		25	
	1839		26		
	1840		45		
Tuition	1843	50		30	
	1848			30	
	1850				30
	1856		50	30	
	1858	60			42
	1860				50
	1833	50 to 80			
	1834		50		
	1838			60*	
	1839	78 to 107			
	1841		30 to 90		
	1843			60*	
Board	1844	74 to 102			
	1848			60*	
	1851		80		
	1855		90	70*	
	1856			80 to 100*	75 to 85
	1857		95		
	1858	100 to 140			80 to 100*
	1860				84 to 105*
	1833	16 (plus			
	1834	extras)	10		
	1838	16 to 20*			
Washing	1843	16 to 22*			
	1856			10	
	1858	20 to 24*			
	1835		5		
	1839		2		
Room	1848			4	
	1851		6		
	1856			4	
	1834		60		
	1838	164 to 197	137	60†	
	1839		117		
	1843	161 to 195			
Total	1848	170 to 185		108	
	1850		131		
	1854	158 to 185			90 to 125
	1856	188 to 249			
	1858	212 to 262			125
	1859				146 to 168

*Including room.
†Farm earnings to be deducted.

TABLE 2

SOME COMPARISONS OF YEARLY COSTS AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY AND THE CHURCH COLLEGES IN GEORGIA

Items	Year	University of Georgia	Emory College	Mercer University	Oglethorpe College
Tuition	1832	$	$	$ 30	$
	1834	38		40 to 60	
	1837		22.50		
	1838	50	40		
	1839		44		
	1843	50			
	1849			40	
	1853				40
	1854	50			
Board	1832			50	
	1833			40 to 60	
	1834	80 to 120*			
	1837		60		
	1838	95 to 114			
	1843	76 to 95			
	1849			100 to 120*	
	1850	95 to 114			
	1852	104 to 133			
	1853				125
	1854	104			
	1856			100 to 120*	
	1859				140 to 150
Washing	1833			8	
	1837		7.50		
	1838	9			
	1843	9 to 10			
	1852	9 to 10			
	1853				10
	1860				12.50 to 15
Room	1837		20		
	1849			20 to 30†	
	1850			10	
	1853				10
Total	1837		109		
	1838	161 to 180	135		
	1840	161 to 180			
	1843			150	
	1847	140 to 185			
	1850	159 to 185		50‡	
	1852	168.50 to 204			
	1853				185
	1856	178 to 213			

*In homes.
†Including washing.
‡Board not included.

TABLE 3

SOME COMPARISONS OF YEARLY COSTS AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY AND THE CHURCH COLLEGES IN VIRGINIA

Items	Year	University of Virginia	Hampden-Sidney	Liberty Hall (Washington)	Randolph-Macon	Richmond
Tuition	1775	$	$ 20	$	$	$
	1776			20		
	1828		40			
	1832				30	
	1836	50 to 75				35
	1841					35
	1842				40	
	1845	50 to 75				
	1848		40			
	1850		40			
	1853	50 to 75				
	1856				50	
Board	1775		50			
	1776			45		
	1828		100			
	1832				60	
	1836	125*				80
	1841					80
	1842				77	
	1845	110				
	1848		60†			
	1850		80			
	1854	120	100			
	1856				120	
Washing	1832				19‡	
	1833				15	
	1850		10			
	1853	8 to 10				
	1856				10	
Room	1828		10			
	1836					5
	1837	16 for two				
	1841					5
	1845	15 for two				
	1848		10			
	1854		6			
Total	1832				95 to 120	
	1833				115.10	
	1836	238				
	1838				250§	
	1842				162	
	1845	223				
	1851		151			
	1854		176			
	1857					100 to 120

*Including bed and washing.
†In homes.
‡Including bedding.
§Including everything.

TABLE 4

SOME COMPARISONS OF YEARLY COSTS AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY AND THE CHURCH COLLEGES IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Items	Year	University of S. C.	Wofford College	Furman University	Erskine College
Tuition	1806	$ 20	$	$	$
	1843	50			
	1849			40	
	1855		50		
Board	1806	80			
	1848	100			
	1855			100 to 120*	
	1860	125			
Washing	1860	12 to 15			
Room and Fuel	1848	12			
	1852	14			
	1860	15 to 25			
Total	1835	350†			
	1848	181			
	1849			152	
	1852	194			
	1860	240.50			

*In homes.
†Including $50 for spending money and other extras.

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